

DECEMBER

Vol. XVII., No. 3

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with scientific theories. His patients have completed their cures themselves by following the simple, easily understood directions that he gives them in this book.

Emile Coué has been successfully practicing his theories for twenty years at Nancy. His faith in his ideas and his utter sincerity is indicated by the fact that he has never exacted a fee for his services which he gives free at all times to all those who come to seek his treatment at Nancy. Up to a year or two ago, the news of Coué's Method of healing spread largely by word of mouth and its fame was confined to France alone. Now, with the reported healings of internationally prominent people like Lord Curzon and Lady Beatty of England (who made public acknowledgments of their cures in the press) the news of the Coué Method of Autosuggestion is rapidly spreading all over the world.

Can Autosuggestion Make You Healthier, Happier and More Successful?

Can Autosuggestion as formulated and practiced by Emile Coué help YOU to greater health, happiness and success in life as it has helped thousands from rheumatic octogenarians to ailing children? As one of the editors of The Elks' Magazine says: "In a little book—it is so simple—



"It is not the Will but the Imagination which controls. The more we try to sleep, the more over excited we become; the more we wish to suppress wild laughter, the more it bursts out; the more the cycling beginner tries to avoid an obstacle, the straighter he makes for it. If we learn how to guide our Imagination, through Autosuggestion, we shall end by guiding ourselves."

—EMILE COUÉ.

Emile Coué tells us how to think ourselves into being masters of our bodies and of our minds. Are you ill? Are you blue? Below par? Discouraged? Afraid? Unsuccessful? Don't mind it. But don't stay that way. Read Coué's book. It's marvellous stuff!"

We are in receipt of scores of unsolicited testimonials (some of which are printed on this page) from people who insist upon telling us what this book has done for them and expressing their appreciation of the remarkable value of Coué's Method as presented in it.

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This book, which is the first complete and only authorized translation of Emile Coué's ideas into English, contains a complete exposition of his theories, methods and amazing cures, with

practical suggestions for personal application and the self-cure, simply and clearly explained by Emile Coué himself.

Auto-Suggestion Is Curzon's Cure

LONDON, Aug. 7.—The news that Lord Curzon is back at his post as Foreign Secretary has come as a distinct surprise to those outside the Government.



Lord Curzon

The basis of the French practitioner's treatment is that the patient must convince himself that his malady is a thing of the past and that this continued conviction ends in a complete cure.

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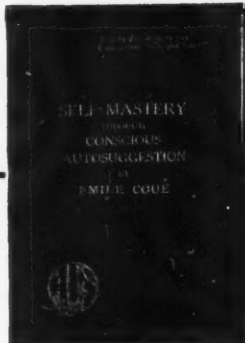
Dr. Frank Crane Praises Coué's Work

Dr. Frank Crane, writing about Coué and the sensational cures made by his method, says:

"He helps people get well by autosuggestion. You might say that he has taken the scientific gist or contents of any religion or philosophy which actually heals human diseases. Perhaps the most important point that Coué emphasizes is that it is not the will but the imagination that has most to do with self-healing. The sum of the whole matter is that he does not ask a patient to have faith, nor to believe something that is not true, nor to use his will, nor to expect the doctor to cure him. He asks the patient to use his imagination. He shows him how to do it. People get well by their own recuperative power. His work is merely to help this power along."

This Book Offers Something for Everybody

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—How to acquire self-confidence
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—How to overcome fear and worry
—How to control nervous disorders
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—Hints on child training
—Autosuggestion explained
—How to correct infirmities
—How to acquire happiness and contentment
—How to rectify chronic disorders
—How to become more successful
—Coué's miraculous cures explained
—Why Imagination is stronger than Will power
—The simple secret of health and happiness

Coué's simple system of cure and prevention. This book describes in utmost detail the method of Coué, and gives, step by step, word for word, his personally uttered instructions to his patients. Thousands of copies have been sold since the book was published a few months ago, and many people have bought from five to fifty copies to present to their friends after reading it.

LUTHER BURBANK, The Famous Horticulturist, writes:

"Emile Coué merits the joyous admiration, universal love and immortal thanks for his wonderful emancipation proclamation."

Coué and his theories are the most discussed subjects in America today. His coming to America in January, to demonstrate in person the benefits to be derived from his system of autosuggestion, will create a sensation and, we predict, revolutionize the healing methods of all professions.


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State of New York, County of New York, ss.:

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and County aforesaid, personally appeared Adolph S. Ochs, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the publisher of *CURRENT HISTORY*, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of Aug. 24, 1912, embodied in Section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business manager are:

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The Times, Times Sq., New York, N. Y.
Managing Editor—E. L. Shuman,
The Times, Times Sq., New York, N. Y.
Business Manager—George W. Ochs Oakes,
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4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company, but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders, who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustee, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

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[Seal.]

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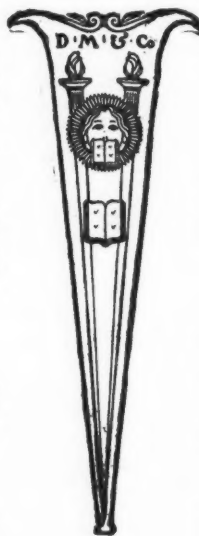
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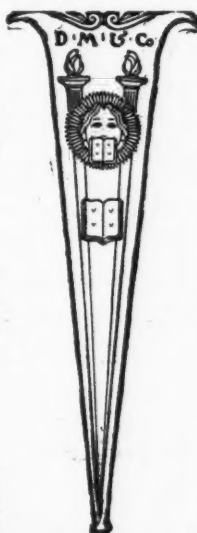
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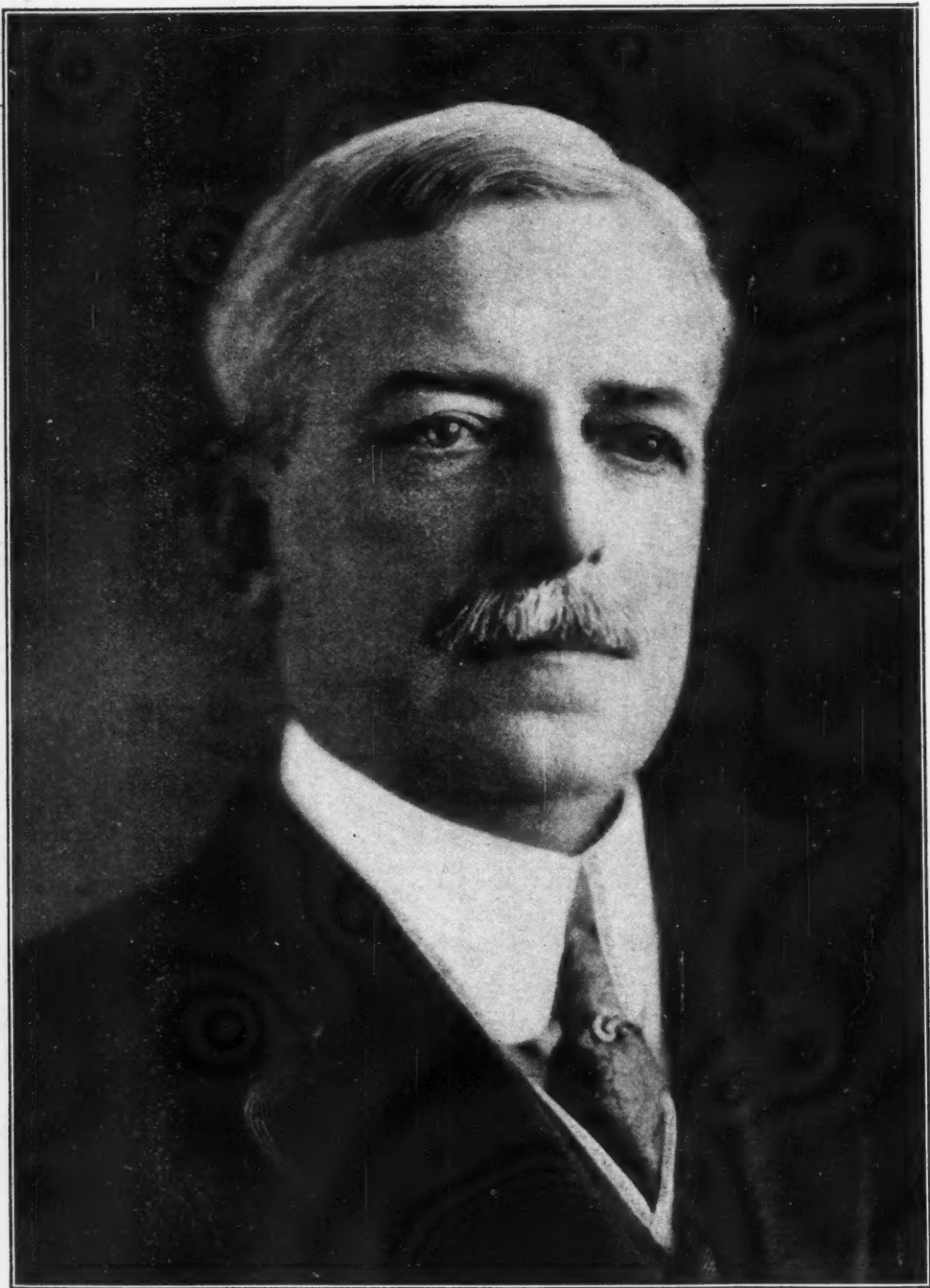


CURRENT HISTORY

DECEMBER, 1922

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
The Ex-Kaiser Scourged: An Analysis of the Memoirs of Wilhelm Hohenzollern ROBERT LANSING	357
Why the British Cabinet Fell.....WILLMOTT LEWIS Washington Correspondent of The London Times	366
David Lloyd George: A Tribute.....LORD ROTHERMERE	372
Prohibition on the Seas.....WAYNE B. WHEELER	376
What Is Our Crime Record?.....JAMES BRONSON REYNOLDS	383
Italy's Bloodless Revolution.....	388
America Again Defenseless.....HERBERT B. MAYER First Lieutenant 16th Infantry, United States Army	395
The Navy as a Protective Investment.....ADMIRAL R. E. COONTZ Chief of Naval Operations, United States Navy	403
The World Tribunal in Action.....RAYMOND LESLIE BUELL	411
The United States and Latin America.....HENRY WOODHOUSE	419
The Vatican's World PolicyJAMES H. RYAN Executive Secretary, National Catholic Welfare Council	429
Political Issues in Canada.....D. M. LE BOURDAIS	439
The Franco-German Feud.....J. ELLIS BARKER	445
German Parties Since the Revolution.....THOMAS H. DICKINSON	452
The New Turkey.....CLAIR PRICE	457
India Turns Away from Gandhi.....MAURICE JOACHIM	462
Exploring Abraham's Birthplace.....WILLIAM A. MCGARRY	472
Constitution of Lithuania (Full Text).....	480
Text of Latvia's Constitution.....	486
Iraq as Great Britain's Ally (Full Text of Treaty).....	490
Perilous Position of Palestine.....A BRITISH PUBLICIST	493
Turkey's Anti-Entente Policy.....ADAMANTIOS TH. POLYZOIDES	496
Russia Takes Over Vladivostok	499
North Slesvig Under Danish Rule.....FINN T. B. FRIIS	502
Map of the World Illustrating the Events of the Month.....	504
Events of a Month Throughout the World.....	505



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ROBERT LANSING
Secretary of State, 1915-1920

EX-KAISER SCOURGED BY ROBERT LANSING, FORMER SECRETARY OF STATE

A SCATHING ANALYSIS OF THE MEMOIRS OF WILHELM HOHENZOLLERN

By ROBERT LANSING

Secretary of State from June 23, 1915, to February, 1920

THE memoirs of a man who has long been prominent in the public eye are always of interest to the student of history, because they may uncover facts which have not been previously matters of record, and also because they tend to disclose the character and the motives of the writer at the time that an event occurred or at the time of writing. Memoirs, however, do not possess the same value as letters, journals, notes or memoranda, because the latter give the thoughts and circumstances which influenced the public acts of the writer at the time, while memoirs furnish an edited record of personal acts and relations to men and affairs, which, written some time after events have occurred, have all the benefit of perspective and proportion measured by the consequences of a course of action and viewed from the standpoint of actual cause and effect. Furthermore, memoirs are usually written with a purpose. The author draws a picture with the high lights and shadows of accomplishment and failure, placing in the foreground those things which make for the picture which he wishes the future generations to see and relegating to an obscure place much that was once important, but which has been dimmed by subsequent events and by the introduction of new actors on the stage of history.

"The Kaiser's Memoirs" should be read with this recognition of the relative value of an account written at the present time, with the panorama of events spread before the writer, and of an account written contemporaneously with the events recorded. The coloring of a course of action to con-

form with the subsequent conduct of the writer is natural, and due allowance must be made for such deviation from the accuracy and completeness of the record. This placing of a man's public acts in the best possible light when viewed from the standpoint of results is to be expected when the memoirs are written with the announced or manifest purpose of defending the writer's public career. Everything which militates against that defense is omitted or explained away, and the facts are stated in a manner to support the theme of the apologist.

"The Kaiser's Memoirs" are written with the purpose of defending Wilhelm Hohenzollern's acts as Emperor of Germany. He begins the last chapter of the book with the words: "I do not care what my foes think about me. I do not recognize them as my judges." But he evidently does care, for the "Memoirs," from beginning to end, are an appeal to the peoples who were at war with Germany. The justification for his acts, the denial of responsibility for the World War, and the attempts to shift the blame for mistakes and unwise policies from his own shoulders to those of others, run through the book from cover to cover. It is the plea of a man who stands indicted before the bar of world public opinion, and his plea is "Not guilty."

The former Emperor endeavors, in support of this plea, to prove the counter-charge that his accusers are the real criminals against civilization; that they had planned and made ready for the great conflict years before it began, and that their purposes were utterly selfish. The evi-

dence advanced to establish this counter-charge is inconclusive and incomplete, while the arguments presented are illogical, unconvincing and often puerile. If the whole story was not known, the accused man might be listened to with more patience and with less cynicism. As it is, the peoples of the nations who suffered such dreadful agony through the policies and acts of the Imperial German Government receive the labored and rambling defense of the Exile of Doorn with the same feelings that they would have if they watched a savage vainly struggling to escape from a pitfall which he himself had dug for others. The former Emperor, disowned by his own people, discredited by others, and despised by all, is one who might in other circumstances excite pity, but his efforts to escape condemnation, his lack of remorse and his unquenchable vanity, which are fully revealed in his writings, excite indignation rather than compassion. His "Memoirs" constitute the last blunder of a life made up of blunders.

PURPOSE OF THE MEMOIRS

The first nine chapters of the book are devoted to the Kaiser's recollections of events in his reign prior to the outbreak of the World War, and five of these chapters record incidents and episodes in the administrations of the five Imperial Chancellors — Bismarck, Caprivi, Hohenlohe, Bülow and Bethmann-Hollweg. The record is an interesting one, though it lacks the value of contemporaneous thought and idea, and is clearly written with the purpose of explaining what subsequently took place, and of conveying the idea that irresistible political forces drove the Kaiser and the German Government into the great war of 1914. The author, in fact, in stating that he leaves certain matters for others to write about, says that he does so, "since I, writing as I am without a single document, would be able to describe events only in a very broad outline."

This admission confirms the reader of the "Memoirs" in the belief, which he must have gained long before he read this sentence (page 259), that the authority for the statements in the book was the memory of a man who has, for nearly four years, brooded in bitterness of spirit

over the utter failure of his life and the imagined wrongs which he has suffered. In the shame and humiliation of his exile in Holland he doubtless sought self-justification for his past, and possibly convinced himself that he was the victim of intriguing and dishonest enemies. In fact it is the only reasonable explanation of the "Memoirs" and of the distortion of historical facts, which is so evident to a student of the events which are reviewed in the first chapters of the book.

That the mental vision of Wilhelm, the dethroned Emperor, should be blurred and out of focus, and that he should read the past incorrectly, should not cause wonder or invite unqualified condemnation. It would be unjust to say that every error of statement made by him is a willful misstatement. It would seem that his mind was open to every report that supported the imagined activities of the powers which later became Germany's foes, and that it was closed to the schemes, or at least to the wrongfulness of the schemes, which the German Government was endeavoring to carry out. I will not say that this attitude of belief is characteristically German, but I will say that it is characteristically Prussian.

The psychology of the Prussian was never understood by the world until the great war began. It was a shock to find medievalism in its most barbaric form hidden beneath the cloak of modern culture, and to realize that these unmasked medievalists were utilizing the applied science of present-day progress for purposes that would be worthy of the robber barons of the Rhine and the pagan warriors of old Prussia. The world now knows the meaning of Prussianism, and it will never forget the meaning.

Wilhelm Hohenzollern was a Prussian in thought, in purpose and in endeavor. This is evidenced on nearly every page of his "Memoirs," and is emphasized in his assertion that, though he abdicated the imperial throne of Germany, he never relinquished his title of "King of Prussia." He shows throughout his writings his love for Prussia and the Prussian nobility, his devotion to Prussian ideals, and his belief that Prussia, at least, will remain faithful to him and to his house.

It is true that he writes much of "the German people" and of "the Fatherland," but it is apparent that his thought is of that branch of the Germanic race over which Frederick the Great ruled, and through whose military might he made Prussia a European power.

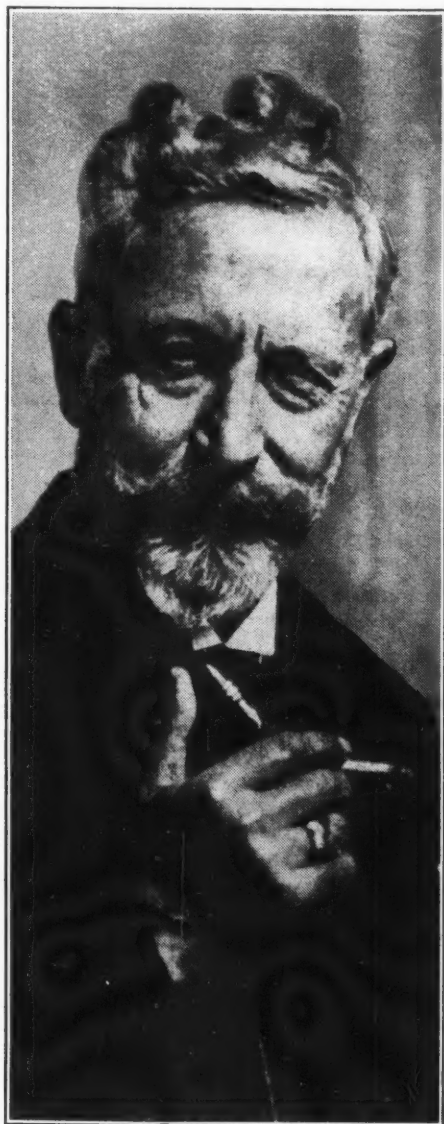
It is not my purpose to trace the narrative given in the "Memoirs" covering the

events from the time that Wilhelm ascended the imperial throne to the months immediately preceding the great war. There are some statements contained in these chapters which will be referred to and commented upon, but the general story of the monarch's relations with the Chancellors of the empire and with the political parties in the Reichstag is not sufficiently interesting, compared with the later chapters of the book, to give the space which it would require to review the events in detail. There are, however, two or three important assertions made in these chapters to which it is well to give special attention before entering upon the subject of the war.

THE "SECRET TREATY" FICTION

One of these assertions is that there existed an "agreement," or "a secret treaty" of alliance against Germany and Austria, negotiated by "England, America and France" in 1897 (pages 71 and 72). It is based on an alleged statement by Professor Roland G. Usher, who is credited with exceptional knowledge of America's international questions because he was called in as an adviser by the Department of State. Apparently Wilhelm believed this to be true, or at least expected others to believe it, for he refers to it more than once in discussing the entry of the United States into the war.

If the author had examined Professor Usher's statement, he would have found that the anonymous writer on whom he relied had misquoted Professor Usher, and that he never said anything in his book, entitled "Pan-Germanism," which could possibly be interpreted as it was interpreted. In the second place, there is no power under the Constitution of the United States by which the Executive could enter into an "agreement" or "secret treaty" of this nature without the consent of the Senate. In the third place, I assert from my own personal knowledge that no such alliance was ever entered into by the American Government. The story is a lie from beginning to end. It is an example of the character of defense which has been advanced in order to prove that the war was long planned by the Entente, and that Ger-



(Wide World Photos)

THE EX-KAISER WILHELM II.

This is the most recent photograph for which the former Emperor has posed

many only stood on the defensive. Naked falsehood, which only a densely ignorant man or an intellectual pervert would use, does not seem to stagger this author of royal blood. He finds extreme satisfaction in this charge of the unnamed "Ex-Attaché" and devotes four pages to comments upon it, of which the pith is that "Usher talked out of school and conclusively proved *at whose door lies the guilt for the World War.*" Did Wilhelm, when he wrote these words, believe them? Is he so credulous as all that? Of course he did not believe any such thing. His use of this second-hand tale shows, however, to what flimsy and unsubstantial arguments the apologists for Germany have been forced, in their efforts to prove that the empire was compelled against its will to enter the war in order to save itself from the wicked design of Great Britain, France and Russia to annihilate the Central Powers, a design which the United States had secretly agreed to abet.

Another subject with which the author deals in reviewing the events of the Chancellorship of Prince Hohenlohe, the Emperor's uncle, is the acquisition of Kiao-Chau (Tsing-tao), the rights to which Japan claimed under the Treaty of Versailles and which later, at the Washington Conference of 1921-22, she agreed to relinquish to China. The German Government had determined for some time prior to the acquisition of the territory in 1898 to obtain a naval station in China, a determination due to the insistence of Admiral Tirpitz, then commander of the East Asiatic squadron, who strongly favored the location of such a station in the Bay of Kiao-Chau. The "possibilities of development in Shantung" also influenced the Chancellor in deciding upon that site. After negotiation with Russia, in which the Kaiser, according to his narrative, played the most important part, "the soil was prepared, politically speaking," for seizing the shores of the bay. The murder of two Catholic priests in Shantung gave a pretext to occupy the bay. The author refers to this invasion of Chinese sovereignty as "our audacious move." In thus characterizing it, and in telling of the subsequent negotiations with England and of the treaty

which was forced upon China, the former Kaiser indicates that he thinks it was a clever piece of business, of which he is justly proud. There is no question in his mind as to the right and wrong of this act of aggression; no thought of it as grossly violative of the rights of a weak and friendly nation. Germany needed Kiao-Chau, so Germany took Kiao-Chau. Russia was tricked, and the British Government laughed at. It was shrewd, very shrewd. It might be said to be contrary to the principles of international morality, but when did a Prussian ever recognize any standard other than the superior right of the strong? If you can take, you have a right to take—this is the very core of Prussianism. No wonder Wilhelm approves the indefensible seizure of Kiao-Chau.

THE KAISER'S CHANCELLORS

There is one more subject entitled to special attention in these chapters on the Chancellors, and that is the recital of the powers of the Chancellor over the foreign policy of the empire. "The Emperor," our author says, "has influence on foreign policy only in so far as the Chancellor grants it to him" (page 139). This recital of the dominant power of the Chancellor in international affairs is introduced with the manifest purpose of shifting the blame of bringing about the war from the imperial shoulders to those of the Chancellor, for immediately following comes this sentence:

If this is borne in mind, it is absolutely impossible that anybody should still hold the Emperor alone responsible for everything, as was done formerly, especially toward the end of the war and after the war, by critical know-it-alls and carping revolutionists both at home and in the Entente countries.

Though the former Kaiser, with the purpose of exonerating himself, shows the supremacy of the Chancellor in dealing with all international questions, the fact which he states has another aspect, of which he appears to have lost sight, and that is the constant differences and quarrels which he had with his Chancellors. No ruler of modern times ever interfered so much with the conduct of the foreign relations of his Government as did Wilhelm. From Bismarck down to

Bethmann there was a continuous series of indiscreet statements, of unauthorized negotiations and of foolish undertakings by the Emperor. One Chancellor after another found that a chief duty of his office was repudiating or rectifying the blunders of his imperial master, who unfortunately believed himself a wonderful diplomat. It was a vexatious task which generally ended in the resignation of the Chancellor under the Kaiser's disfavor, which is reflected in his "Memoirs" by his criticisms of these statesmen.

One of the most glaring indiscretions of the Kaiser was an interview which he gave to a correspondent of *The London Daily Telegraph* in 1908. The interview consisted of a harsh attack on the British, whom he characterized "as mad as March hares" in their attitude toward the Germans, combined with an assertion that a large number of the Germans had been "bitterly hostile" to England during the Boer War, and were not then friendly. Both in Germany and Great Britain the interview, which was read over and approved by the Emperor before publication, caused a tremendous sensation. The press of both countries were outspoken in their condemnation. Even the Chancellor, Prince Bülow, could not defend Wilhelm in the Reichstag, much to that monarch's disgust. The situation grew so serious that the Chancellor compelled the Kaiser to sign a public declaration that he would keep his hands off foreign affairs in the future.

The immediate result of this incident, which shows with what the harassed Chancellors had to deal, was a breach between the Kaiser and Prince Bülow, which was never healed and ended at last in the dismissal of the Chancellor, although the "Memoirs" seek to make the cause of retirement political, rather than personal. Knowing the Kaiser's vanity, as one does from the book which he has written, no friendship which he had for any man, however intimate their relations, could have stood the test of the public humiliation which the Kaiser was compelled to suffer. His egotism was wounded beyond healing, and even after fourteen years the iron still rankled in his breast.

"The Outbreak of the World War" (the title of Chapter X.) occurred during



(Fotograms Photo)

WOODROW WILSON

A recent photograph of the ex-President while taking an automobile ride

the chancellorship of Herr von Bethmann Hollweg, for whom Wilhelm professes to have had a friendship which began in their youthful days. He characterized the policy of the Chancellor, however, as one "of vacillation," showing a disposition to criticise Bethmann, who kept strict control of foreign affairs. The Kaiser's injured pride in not being consulted is evidenced by the statements that "Bethmann likewise asserted his independence decidedly in his relations with me"; that "he ruled as he pleased," and that the "Foreign Office was allowed to tell me only what the Chancellor wished, so that it happened sometimes that I was not informed concerning important occurrences." The lesson of *The Daily Telegraph* interview was not forgotten, and the Emperor was prevented from further indiscretions by being kept in ignorance of the progress of Germany's international relations. This must have been a bitter draught for the ruler who considered himself a wise and

clever statesman, but who was in fact a meddlesome bungler, whose conceit and shallowness were recognized by those who bore the responsibilities of the government of the empire.

The Kaiser's motive for recording to-day this treatment of himself by the Chancellor is apparent. He is striving to show that he was in no way responsible for the policy which culminated in the war, intimating incidentally that if he had had more to say in dealing with foreign powers it might have been a different story, since he was unalterably opposed to a European conflict. There is always threatening Wilhelm in exile the spectre of a hostile tribunal before which he is to be tried for having been responsible for plunging the world into war. Only this fear could ever have induced him to admit that the Imperial Chancellor denied him knowledge, and was indifferent to his advice. His fear surpasses his conceit. It must be a great fear indeed.

THE QUESTION OF ATROCITIES

In the building up of the military and naval strength of the empire there was, however, no reason to withhold the praise to which he believed himself entitled. To the German Army he pays unstinted tribute, and says that it was in 1914 "an instrument of warfare without an equal." As to the navy, "I and Tirpitz" were the builders. One realizes on reading the chapter entitled "Army and Navy" that Admiral Tirpitz was the creative genius, so far as the navy was concerned. Wilhelm's statement that the Admiral "went ahead with the program *approved by me*" and that he did thus and so "*at my command*," in no way hides the truth or transfers the glory. It was this officer who conceived the idea of large "seagoing" submarines, and it was he who with his usual energy set about building a fleet of this class.

Wilhelm is unusually generous in his praise of Admiral Tirpitz and of his under-sea vessels, but he goes too far when he asserts that "the achievements of the U-boats aroused the admiration of the entire world, and won the ardent gratitude of the Fatherland." He fails to point out that

the ruthless character of the submarine warfare carried on under the direction of the Admiral was the cause of the Chancellor's demand for his retirement, and that it was a return to this brutal method which forced the United States to enter the war. The impression one gets from reading the comments of the former Kaiser upon the use of submarines is that he was wholly indifferent to the frightfulness of that type of warfare, that he heartily approved of the Tirpitz policy, and that he never realized that the sinking of the *Lusitania* and similar outrages by German submarines were offenses unpardonable to civilized nations. He even adopts the thesis that the United States went to war, "alleging the U-warfare as a pretext, in reality under the influence of the powerful financial groups." How little the writer of the "Memoirs" knew the truth, and what a warped and distorted view he had of the horror and anger of the American people when submarine warfare was renewed in 1917! The Prussian mind failed, as it has always failed, to grasp the psychological effect of inhuman conduct upon other peoples. It still clings to the primitive conception that the strong know no law, and that whatever they do is right. The brutal spirit of Frederick the Great and his doctrine of the sword have lived in his descendants, though the blood has grown thin and the genius has departed.

It is with an equal lack of appreciation of world public opinion that Wilhelm refers specifically to "German 'atrocities.'" He offsets the charges made by the Bryce Commission, Cardinal Mercier, and other men of high character and integrity who have investigated the conduct of the German forces in Belgium and Northern France by the assertion that "the old windows of the cathedral of St. Quentin were removed by German soldiers, at the risk of their lives," and that the wardrobe, letters and silverware of the Princess of Poix were protected from the vandalism of the common soldiery. What a defense! It would be laughable if it were not put forward soberly as an evidence that the charge of atrocious conduct by the Germans was untrue. Not a word about the

mistreatment and slaughter of civilians, of the burning of Louvain, of the deportation of Belgians to Germany, of their enslavement, or of the hundreds of inhumanities perpetrated in the occupied regions. This is the plea: we Germans, in two instances, at any rate, saved stained glass, and a lady's clothes and letters. That is all that the author has to say of this page of the German invasion, which is so deeply stained with savagery and with unspeakable crimes, stains which can never be erased from the memory of the present generation.

THE ABDICATION AND FLIGHT

The former Kaiser wisely passes over the progress of the war. How much he actually knew of the trend of events we do not know; possibly he knew a great deal; possibly he knew only a little. In any event he leaves the record of military operations to others. I think, however, we must conclude that he had little to do with the plans of campaign, and with the strategy and the policies which were adopted by the military leaders, or else that he did not wish to assume any responsibility for the conduct of a war which ended in the disastrous defeat of the German arms.

The apparent purpose of Wilhelm in writing the "Memoirs" is, as has been said, two-fold: namely, to explain his abdication and flight into the Netherlands, and to absolve himself from any guilt in having brought about the war. The last four chapters of the book are devoted to these subjects, and the preceding chapters may be considered as introductory. Throughout the whole work, however, runs the thread of thought that he is under condemnation. He shows that that is always in his mind, and he writhes under the lash of public criticism.

He blames his abdication upon the revolutionary spirit in Germany which had so affected the army that it was honeycombed with mutiny. He hesitates as to whether he shall go to the battle-front, where he can meet death like a monarch, or fly from revolutionists at home and from the victorious armies of the enemy. He consults with Field Marshal von Hindenburg,

who advises him to seek refuge in the Netherlands. He ignominiously goes into voluntary exile, instead of facing the storm which was raging in Germany against the autocracy of the imperial system. For the sake of his honor, for the sake of his dynasty, for the sake of monarchical institutions, a real king would have preferred death at the hands of his people to the brand of cowardice which must ever be impressed upon the name of Wilhelm, the last of the Hohenzollern Emperors. His claim of self-sacrifice will hardly be admitted by a skeptical world.

His invectives against the revolutionary element in Germany sound like those of a sulky child, in view of the fact that revolution is the natural sequence to a defeated monarchy. Did he forget the overthrow of Louis Napoleon and the rise of the French Commune when the royal armies were hopelessly beaten? Did he forget the revolution in Russia after the Czar's troops were defeated? A student of history knows that in these days of aggressive liberalism a monarchy must be victorious in a war or it is almost sure to fall. The Hohenzollerns and the Hapsburgs are the last of the great dynasties to go down under this inexorable law of success and failure.

DENIAL OF WAR GUILT

The former Kaiser's denial of guilty purpose toward the powers arrayed against Germany in 1914 is almost hysterical in expression, and is certainly irrational in argument. He blames the "encircling policy" of Great Britain, France and Russia, and their malevolent designs. He blames British propaganda and misrepresentation. He blames the French spirit of revenge, and the Russian desire to possess Constantinople. "Never," he exclaims, "have I had warlike ambitions." And yet he had just written, "For thirty years the army was my pride. For it I lived, upon it I labored." And on the same page (289) he speaks of "my proud navy, my creation." Everything that Wilhelm writes indicates that his spirit was martial, and that he possessed the belief of his great forebear, Frederick of Prussia, that the sword was the only sure way to advance his power and to retain that power. It is significant that whenever he

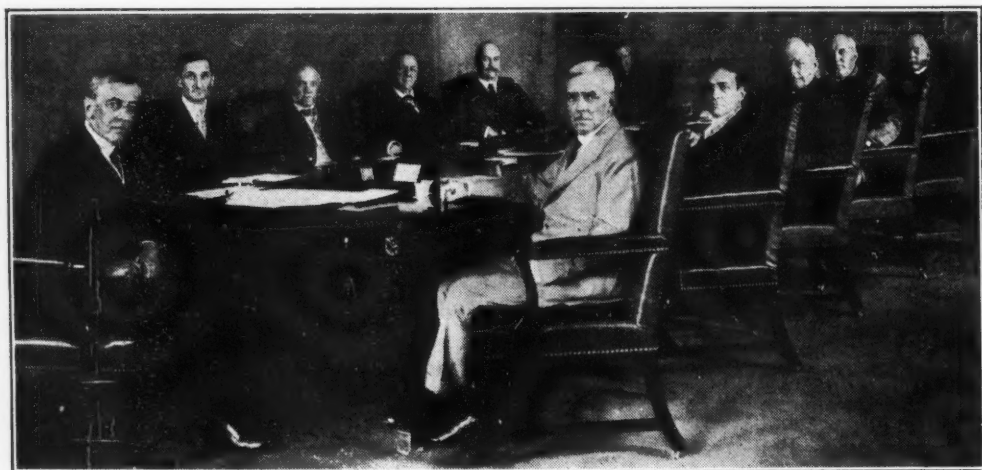
visited his royal cousins he took particular notice of the troops that passed in review. It was their discipline and appearance which seemed to impress him. He was always thinking of war and of the relative strength of armies and navies. Prussianism was the very fibre of his being, the basic principle of his conception of royal state. The "divine right of kings" was the cornerstone of his political philosophy.

He advances the argument that if Germany had been intent upon war it would have made an attack upon Great Britain in 1900, when that country was engaged against the Boers in South Africa. From this statement he reasons that the Germans were inclined to peace, and never would have gone to war except to defend the Fatherland. The author, however, in using this fact as an argument to show Germany's peaceful intentions, omits to say that in 1900 the German Navy was greatly inferior to the British Navy, and that the South African war in no way weakened the naval power of Great Britain. Until the German naval establishment was sufficiently increased to protect the great ports of Germany on the North Sea, an attack on the British was unthinkable.

One might traverse many other misstatements and fallacious arguments which have been formulated at Doorn during the past four years. Before leaving the subjects with which the former Kaiser deals, I must

direct attention to the utterly false and unwarranted criticism of Mr. Wilson. From my own personal knowledge no man ever worked more assiduously than did the President to restore peace in Europe prior to the entry by the United States into the war. Even after this country severed diplomatic relations with the German Empire he did not abandon hope of a peaceful adjustment. He approached the question with an impartiality which many Americans resented, in view of Germany's ruthlessness on the high seas. That he was "acting solely in the interest of Wall Street high finance" is one of the most outrageous of the many outrageous statements in the book. Knowing President Wilson as I did, and realizing his integrity of purpose, I resent this attack upon his sincerity, his high motives, and his character. It is the fulmination of a small mind embittered by the loneliness of exile, and by the thoughts of one whose career as a world figure has come to an inglorious end. To a student of character it is inconceivable that a Wilhelm Hohenzollern should understand a Woodrow Wilson, or believe that the latter's standard of political ethics was genuine.

"The Kaiser's Memoirs" possess little of real value to the historian. They contain practically no new facts and shed no new light on the progress of events during the last third of a century. The omissions



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President Wilson presiding over his Cabinet, with Robert Lansing, his Secretary of State, in the centre of the foreground

in the record are more glaring than the undue emphasis given to insignificant incidents. They form an incomplete and unsatisfactory narrative. They are not even accurate in outlining the Kaiser's reign.

As to literary merit the book has none. It is the art of the futurist applied to literature, very much of a jumble of disjointed statements, ideas and comments which requires a vivid imagination to coordinate. Obsessed with thoughts of his abdication, with the accusation of responsibility for the war, and with the desire of Germany's enemies to test his guilt before a judicial tribunal, he reverts to one or the other of these subjects whenever anything in his narrative offers an opportunity to make a comment or an argument.

Excuse follows excuse; complaint follows complaint; denial follows denial. It is an endless chain, for when one finishes reading the book he has got nowhere, but is back where he started. The opinion one has of the character of Wilhelm is certainly no better. It is worse, in fact, for the reader has obtained an insight into the motives and purposes of the exiled ruler which shows him to possess littleness of soul, immaturity of thought, weakness of spirit, and a lack of all the essential qualities which make for human greatness and which command respect even in failure. Egotism, the egotism of a weak man, is the outstanding characteristic of Wilhelm the Little as disclosed by the "Memoirs" which he has given to the world.

AMERICA'S UNCOLLECTED DEBTS

THE World War Foreign Debts Commission, consisting of three Cabinet officers and two members of Congress, has for some time been engaged in negotiations with foreign Governments on methods of refunding the colossal sums that the United States advanced from its Treasury during the war. This commission took its powers from the Foreign Debt Refunding bill passed by Congress on Feb. 9, 1922. It is made up of the following members: Mr. Mellon, Secretary of the Treasury; Mr. Hughes, Secretary of State; Mr. Hoover, Secretary of Commerce; Senator Reed Smoot and Representative Theodore E. Burton, with Eliot Wadsworth, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, as Secretary.

The figures with which this commission has to deal are interesting to every American. The total amount that we have lent to foreign Governments, including the war debts and obligations for surplus materials and food relief, is \$10,102,252,207.13. Interest due but unpaid totals \$1,422,699,662.02. This makes the total debt of twenty foreign Governments, mainly Great Britain, France, Italy and Belgium, \$11,524,951,869.15. The amount of principal paid back totals \$211,813,919.31; of interest, \$506,002,109.71.* Interest on most of

the debt is not being paid, and is accumulating at the annual rate of \$575,000,000. The debtors, and what they owe, including interest, are:

*Great Britain	\$ 4,746,862,560.29
France	3,770,906,655.85
Italy	1,891,514,634.27
Belgium	428,515,733.88
Sixteen other countries.....	687,152,284.86

Total debt\$11,524,951,869.15

The "sixteen other countries" grouped in the foregoing table are Armenia, Austria, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Esthonia, Finland, Greece, Hungary, Latvia, Liberia, Lithuania, Nicaragua, Poland, Rumania, Russia and Serbia. They help to bring the total of our nation's uncollected debts to eleven and a half billions. The World War Foreign Debts Commission has to consider propositions from some of the chief European debtors looking toward the scaling down or absolute canceling of the great sums they owe the United States. The meaning of such a proposition, if applied to the whole eleven and a half billions, is indicated by the fact that if that sum were divided among the people of the United States it would provide each person with about \$100. It would buy a Ford car for every family in the United States, and run it for a year, or it would build homes for almost two million families at an average cost of \$6,000 each.

* Since this was written the British Government has paid \$50,000,000 on its arrears of interest.

WHY THE BRITISH CABINET FELL

By WILLMOTT LEWIS

Washington Correspondent of The London Times

The underlying causes of the British Governmental crisis—History of the three Coalition Cabinets—How Lloyd George assumed virtually dictatorial powers, thus striking at the root of British constitutional tradition—Third Coalition wrecked

THE passing in Great Britain of the Government of Mr. Lloyd George, the coming to power of an administration headed by Mr. Bonar Law and the calling of a general election on Nov. 15 to ratify that change have been described so frequently as the close of a period in English politics that the phrase has become dulled by use. A point of departure for a brief discussion of the phenomenon which the change represents may be best found, perhaps, if we speak of it as the forcible turning of the current of British political development back into channels of constitutional usage, from which in recent years it had been deflected. To make this clear, some reference is necessary to the conditions out of which grew the three Coalitions with which Mr. Lloyd George has been associated, and a description of the events which followed their formation.

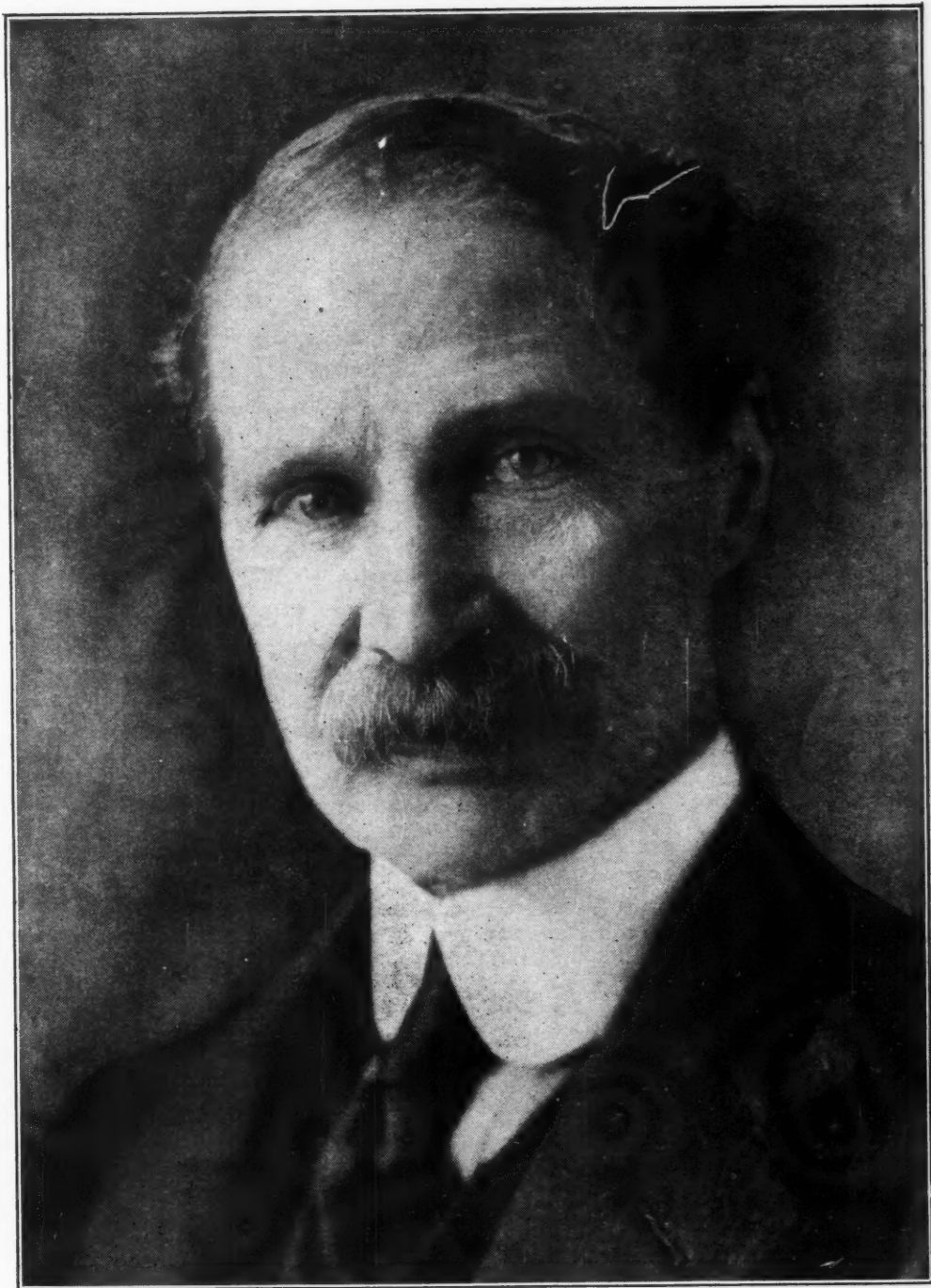
When the great war broke out in August, 1914, Great Britain was governed by the Liberal Party, under Mr. Asquith as leader and Prime Minister and with Mr. Lloyd George as Chancellor of the Exchequer, an office corresponding to that of Secretary of the Treasury. The stirring events of those early days did much to break down party divisions, but it was not until the Spring of 1915, at a time when the discovery of a serious shortage of high-explosive shells and the resignation of Lord Fisher from the Admiralty had thrown doubt on the efficient conduct of the war by the British Government, that the first Coalition was formed. Under Mr. Asquith the forces of the Liberal Party, the Unionist (or Conservative) Party and

the Labor Party grouped themselves. If it had not been for the abstention of the Irish Nationalists, it would have been possible to say that whatever in British politics owned allegiance to a constituted party joined the Coalition.

This first Coalition, however, did not have a long life. In 1916 occurred another crisis, when Mr. Asquith was accused of insufficient vigor in the prosecution of the war, and out of it emerged a second Coalition, headed by Mr. Lloyd George as Prime Minister. It is worth noting that, though the Unionist and Labor Parties adhered to this Government, only that section of the Liberals which was ready to desert Mr. Asquith accepted the new leader, and this division in the allegiance of Liberals has continued to the present day. Because of it the calling of an election on Nov. 15, 1922, found Mr. Lloyd George, a Liberal, without a party in the official and constituted sense of the term, for control of the machinery of the Liberal organization had remained with Mr. Asquith and his small band of faithful followers.

THE THIRD COALITION CABINET

This second Coalition, under Mr. Lloyd George, saw the triumphant close of the war. The armistice had no sooner been signed, however, than the Prime Minister advised the King to dissolve Parliament, and the country learned that he had made an arrangement with Mr. Bonar Law, leader of the Unionists, whereby that party and the Liberals who followed Mr. Lloyd George's fortunes would appeal to the country together, setting up in each con-



(© Harris & Ewing)

ANDREW BONAR LAW
Great Britain's New Prime Minister

stituency a selected candidate under what was called the "coupon" system. The election in December, 1918, is still in the public memory. Its campaign cries—"Make Germany Pay!" and "Hang the Kaiser!"—are not forgotten, though perhaps it is only in a mood of regretful bitterness that they are recalled. Mr. Lloyd George returned to the House of Commons at the head of the largest majority ever controlled by a British statesman. The forces were divided as follows:

COALITION		NON-COALITION	
Unionists	334	Liberals	63
Liberals	133	Unionists	48
Labor	11	Labor	28
		Sinn Fein	73
		Irish Nationalists...	7
		Independent	10
Total	478	Total	229
Coalition majority, 249.			

At the head of this docile, disciplined and (as is now generally agreed) dull body, Mr. Lloyd George carried over into the period of peace and reconstruction the system which had been found most effective for the conduct of the war. The fact that nearly three-fourths of the third Coalition was made up of the Unionist Party bears heavily upon subsequent events. It is worth noting, also, that Mr. Bonar Law and his followers were content, at that period of indecision and uncertainty, to accept the leadership of the man whose restless and ubiquitous energy had contributed so much to victory. Mr. Lloyd George had founded the Ministry of Munitions; he had succeeded Lord Kitchener as Minister of War; he had been Prime Minister through the long anxieties and immense effort of the 1916-18 period, and he reaped his reward when peace came in a popular adulation of which the staggering majority given to the Coalition he formed is but a faint indication. To a degree astonishing to remember, Mr. Lloyd George *was* the Coalition—its head and front, its centre and circumference, its horse, foot and artillery. What vitality it had in those days was his vitality; as he moved, so, like a shadow on the wall, it moved also.

This dynamic predominance had, from the point of view of the man who enjoyed it, many advantages and one great defect. It enabled him to gather up into his own hands the executive functions of govern-

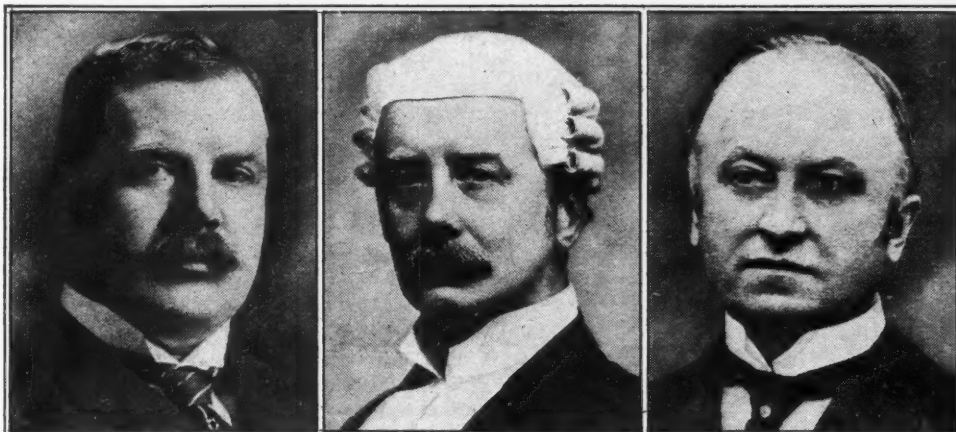
ment to a degree never before vouchsafed to any preceding British Prime Minister; it allowed him a freedom of action comparable, and in some respects exceeding, that of the President of the United States (for the checks and balances of the American system find no counterpart in the unwritten Constitution of Great Britain); but, on the other hand, as it left him alone to reap the glory, so it bared his back, and his alone, to the punishment of failure.

THE ROAD TO "DICTATORSHIP"

To American readers it will be interesting if we examine in some detail the steps whereby, first, under the compelling necessity of war time, and, finally, by grace of the docility of Parliament, Mr. Lloyd George became what—if we adopt the language of his critics—we must call Dictator of Great Britain. These steps involved changes in constitutional practice, which, however effective and necessary they were when the shadow of a great national struggle lay over the land, were of dubious wisdom in time of peace.

First, there was the selection, out of the body of the Cabinet, of a small group of leaders who formed the War Cabinet. Then came the establishment of a system of Ministerial conferences, which were summoned by the Prime Minister and attended at his behest by Cabinet members and permanent officials of the civil, naval and military services. It will easily be seen how this struck at the British tradition of individual Cabinet responsibility, and how it permitted—indeed, demanded—the executive intrusion of the Prime Minister into every department of Government. Next, on the plea that confusion would thus be dissipated, a Cabinet Secretariat was formed, and with its record of meetings went the tradition of Cabinet secrecy. This Secretariat, as time went on, grew to something perilously like a Prime Minister's department, whose importance in the field of foreign affairs (to name only the most prominent instance) tended to dilute the value, if it did not nullify the labors, of the Foreign Office.

There did not go with this absorption of executive power by the Prime Minister, however, any acceptance of constant Parliamentary challenge. It had been the



Prominent members of the new British Cabinet: (At left), the Earl of Derby, Secretary for War; (centre), Viscount Cave, Lord High Chancellor; (at right), Marquis Curzon, Secretary for Foreign Affairs

British practice that the Prime Minister of the day should himself be the leader of his party in the house of which he happened to be a member. Mr. Lloyd George, perhaps for good reason while the war continued, or while preoccupation with the making of peace kept him absent, left the leadership of the House of Commons to his lieutenant, first Mr. Bonar Law, and when that gentleman's health broke down, to the new chief of the Unionist Party, Mr. Austen Chamberlain. The Prime Minister's visits to the House, if they were always spectacular, became increasingly rare. He seemed to his critics—and it is only if we examine the grounds of criticism that we can explain his downfall—that he had struck at the very roots of representative government as Great Britain knows it; that he had not only assembled in his own person most of the attributes constitutionally reserved for the Cabinet, but that he had withdrawn himself from Parliament, which is the fount of power, and had thus degraded it to a mere vehicle for the validation of his decisions.

Needless to say, this criticism was not of quick growth. In 1919, and even in the first half of 1920, there were questions at issue of greater apparent importance than the maintenance of constitutional methods. In the turbulent transition period from war to peace it seemed more important that de-

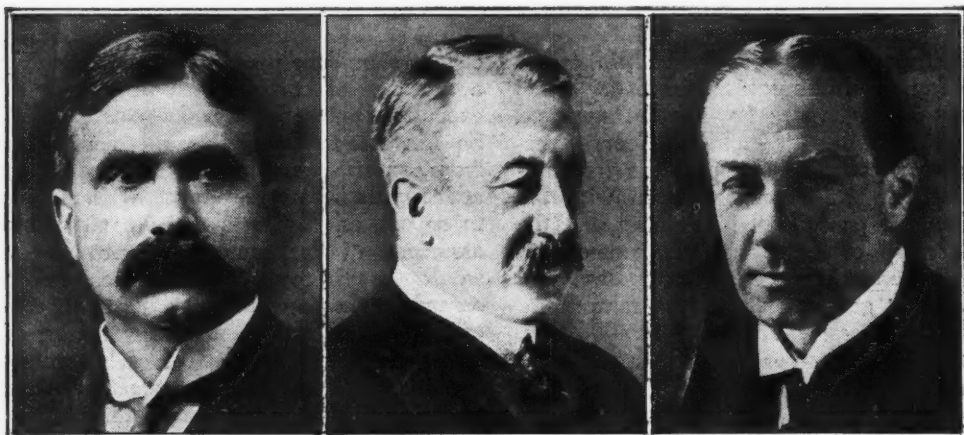
cisions should be promptly made than that a tradition of conservatism in the use of executive power should be safeguarded. So Mr. Lloyd George moved meteor-like from conference to conference, reappearing at intervals before the House of Commons to report, and to receive the comfortable assurance of Parliamentary approval. It would be tiresome and unnecessary to enumerate the list of these Continental gatherings, or to trace upon the fever-chart of European politics the effect of his ministrations. It is sufficient to remember that, as the life of the Coalition lengthened, the chorus of criticism of its "onlie begetter" grew in volume. It became increasingly doubtful whether Parliamentary approval of a given course of action would be secured; it seemed rather a tribute to the man, an acclamation of the most persuasive orator of his time, than a reasoned acceptance of policy. There were hints, too, in the defeat of Coalition candidates at bye-elections, that the temper of the country was changing. The year 1920 saw the passage by Parliament of a mass of legislation designed for the "reconstruction" of Britain, and 1921 found the Parliament which had enacted it admitting, by their repeal, that most of these laws were undigested and ill-considered. Meanwhile, the change from the enforcedly reckless expenditure of war to the careful scrutiny of expenditure which peace demands had

seemed to lag. Taxes were so high as to restrict private enterprise and even to exhaust the reserve of capital, and there seemed no likelihood of their reduction. It became in many minds a question whether the carrying over into peace of a Coalition system devised in war had not been also an unwise perpetuation of wartime habits of mind, and whether, where the disease was desperate, the admittedly desperate remedy of a return to the party form of government should not be adopted.

NEAR EAST POLICY WRECKS COALITION

There can be no doubt that the remedy was desperate, and that Mr. Bonar Law, the man who, more than any other, was

France apart, which led up to the withdrawal of the French forces from the neutral zone of the Dardanelles, and which, as the victorious Turkish Army advanced, left Great Britain as the only obstacle to the unhindered and practically unlimited re-entry of Turkey into Europe. What is important, in any survey of British politics, is to note the fact that the British people, war-weary and infinitely tax-weary, found themselves on the brink of another struggle, whose ultimate extent it would be impossible to predict, but whose effect upon the finances of the nation must inevitably be disastrous. Even though a resort to arms was happily averted, the critics of the Prime Minister were quick to point out that the military and naval measures



Cabinet Ministers in the new British Government: (At left), Viscount Peel, Secretary for India; (centre), the Duke of Devonshire, Secretary for the Colonies; (at right), Mr. Stanley Baldwin, Chancellor of the Exchequer

responsible for its adoption, showed a remarkable degree of courage. The second Coalition, formed in 1916, had split the Liberal Party; the destruction of the third seemed likely to split the Unionists. It was ultimately a question whether the disease could be shown to be so desperate as to justify a resort to such a drastic remedy, and the Coalition might still be in power in Britain today had it not been for Mr. Lloyd George's adoption of a Near Eastern policy based on a complete miscalculation of the strength of the Greeks.

It would be tedious to recite the events in the Near East which drew Britain and

made necessary by the crisis would involve an expenditure not less than \$150,000,000, and perhaps more.

This was the vantage point that the opposition needed. On Oct. 19 a meeting of Conservative members of Parliament decided, by 186 votes to 87, to withdraw from the Coalition and to go before the country at the next general election as a Conservative Party. When it is recalled that the Coalition looked for three-quarters of its strength to the Conservatives, it will be realized why the news of this vote so promptly brought the resignation of Mr. Lloyd George, and why he advised

the King that the task of forming a new Government should be entrusted to the man whose influence had been paramount in securing it—Mr. Bonar Law.

The desperate remedy, then, was administered, and its perilous nature can be seen in the fact that Mr. Bonar Law was not able to command the unanimous support of the Conservative Party. Certain of that party's leaders—notably Lord Balfour and Mr. Chamberlain—stood loyally by Mr. Lloyd George and held to the belief that at this point in the stream of the country's fortunes it would be suicidal to "change horses." Mr. Chamberlain, at the meeting of the Conservatives already referred to, spoke of the crisis in foreign affairs, but also of the domestic danger inherent in the program of the Labor Party. He expressed the belief that the real issue in any election that might take place would not be as between Conservatives and Liberals, but as between those who stood for individual freedom and those who desired the socialization of the State; as between those who stood for free industry and those who sought nationalization, with its controls and inefficiencies.

His plea, in short, was for a continuance of the "union sacrée," not against a foreign foe, but against the forces of socialism and communism at home. To this argument Mr. Bonar Law replied with another, and this point in his speech was the turning point of the meeting. If, he said, there were to be a party "composed of every one who was not Labor," with Labor as the only alternative, then a condition would be set up which, as the political pendulum swung from side to side, would in due course bring the Labor Party to power.

Only the result of the election of Nov. 15 can decide whether Mr. Chamberlain was right, or whether Mr. Bonar Law's confidence in the essential soundness of the political judgment of the British people was justified. The issue is between a Conservative Party divided, a Liberal Party torn in two and a Labor Party daily more conscious of its strength. If the idea of Coalition be discarded, then obviously co-operation offers a bridge over which Great Britain may move back to political "normalcy" and revert to the system which has been the source of her strength.



Promoted to high office in the new British Cabinet: (At left), Sir Philip Lloyd-Greame, President of the Board of Trade; (centre), Mr. L. C. M. S. Amery, First Lord of the Admiralty; (at right), the Marquis of Salisbury, Lord President of the Council

DAVID LLOYD GEORGE

By LORD ROTHERMERE

Chief Proprietor of The Daily Mail of London,
Brother of the Late Lord Northcliffe

"Among the greatest Britons in the last 500 years—No more notable figure since the days of Cromwell—Today there is no other statesman in Europe of his calibre, his experience or his value"

[By special arrangement with The Daily Mail]

OPINIONS may differ about the policy of Mr. Lloyd George during the last few months, and, for myself, I am in profound disagreement with much that he has done during the last four years; but there can be no question about his incomparable services to the nation during the period of the great war.

He is assured of a great and permanent place in our history.

No other statesman has had to grapple with such gigantic problems. The work of Pitt, masterly though it was, must be considered as limited in scope in comparison with the mighty undertakings which the Prime Minister has had to shoulder.

Perhaps the greatest service which Mr. Lloyd George rendered to his countrymen was that throughout the tremendous struggle he never once lost heart. Others faltered in moments of reverse, but the Prime Minister was invariably determined to fight on until victory was attained, and in this respect he accurately interpreted the national will.

No meed of gratitude can be too great or too emphatic for the leader who carried us through the dark days of 1917 and the Spring of 1918. At this time of eclipse we greet the courageous man who typified Britain during the most intense crisis we have ever known. We regret his relinquishment of office, but we are confident that after a period of rest he will once again take the helm.

Mr. Lloyd George is not as Gladstone was when he made his first withdrawal from public life. Although greatly in need of

rest, he still enjoys health and vigor, and his "dynamic force" is a factor which must be reckoned with for many years to come.

There seems little likelihood that the Ministry now being formed will last for a long time, even if it is endorsed by the popular verdict at a general election; and I confidently expect that within a limited period we shall once more see Mr. Lloyd George in power, perhaps chastened a little by adversity, but still prepared to serve the country to the best of his great ability.

Of late there has been a tendency in certain quarters to belittle the work done by Mr. Lloyd George during the great war. Soldiers who differ from his decisions may denounce him, but I think the public is well aware that he was more often right than some of our Generals.

Looking back over the story of the war, I sometimes feel that if the proposals of Mr. Lloyd George had been adopted at the end of 1914 the conflict would not have been so prolonged.

It is common knowledge now that he wanted the forces which we sent to the Mediterranean to land at Saloniki and not at Gallipoli. His thoroughly sound idea was to go to the help of the Serbs and to cut the German route to the East on the Danube rather than on the shores of the Dardanelles.

The Saloniki scheme was "turned down" at that stage, apparently owing to the representation of M. Venizelos, the Greek Prime Minister, to whom Mr. Lloyd

George partly owes his downfall. The soldiers also objected, because they said that the communications through Serbia were bad and the country was smitten with typhus. My own view, after reading much that has been published on the subject, is that if the valley of the River Vardar was not easy to traverse, *Achi Baba and Sari Bair were far more formidable obstacles.* Difficult though the advance through Serbia might have been, it was not so bad as Gallipoli.

It is not clear that Mr. Lloyd George had any large share of responsibility for the attack on the Dardanelles, but we are on surer ground when we recognize that he had much to do with the success of the Ministry of Munitions. His methods were perhaps extravagant, for there was no time to count the cost when the Germans were pressing the allied line in France; *but he got the shells made*, and from the moment he turned his attention to munitions our troops never had any reason to complain that they were deprived of the material which insured ultimate victory.

The name of Lord Northcliffe must also be associated with the great effort to keep our rapidly expanding army well supplied with munitions. These two men, Lord Northcliffe and Mr. Lloyd George, in certain respects dominated the middle period of the war. Lord Northcliffe was far more indifferent to popular clamor than any statesman, but he took his courage into both hands when he attacked the War Office for failing to keep the troops well supplied with high explosives.

It has been admitted in letters which are now public property that Lord Northcliffe was closely associated with the movement which led to the appointment of Mr. Lloyd George as Prime Minister at the end of 1916. Lord Northcliffe was convinced that Mr. Asquith's temperament did not qualify him to be the head of the Government during the supreme crisis of the war. Without the knowledge of Mr. Lloyd George, he bent all his energies to the problem of placing him in supreme control instead of Mr. Asquith. It was unfortunate that the sympathy thus subsisting between the two men was subsequently impaired, but Lord Northcliffe never lost

his admiration for Mr. Lloyd George's brilliant qualities.

The full story of Mr. Lloyd George's influence upon the later phases of the war cannot yet be told, but I am convinced that when the whole truth is known it will be recognized that his judgment, even upon military issues, was generally right, and that in all he did he played the part of a great patriot and a great Minister.

I cannot subscribe to the doctrine that in wartime military commanders are sacrosanct, and should never be interfered with. If such a stupid theory had been adopted in the United States, the Civil War of last century might have been continuing today. Abraham Lincoln changed his Generals until he found men in whom he could repose complete confidence; and such was the courageous spirit in which Mr. Lloyd George approached the supreme crisis of the war.

My view is that future military historians will condemn unsparingly the methods by which our commanders on the western front vainly sought to attain victory. We sacrificed great numbers of lives in prolonged frontal attacks which served no useful purpose. The battle of Passchendaele in particular was one long and dreadful mistake after the initial assaults failed, and it is only the singular docility of our people which has prevented the authors of the Passchendaele massacres from being called to account.

Mr. Lloyd George could not endure the agony of Passchendaele, and under the inspiration of the late Field Marshal Sir Henry Wilson he felt impelled to deal with the mistakes of our commanders. He saw that the only remedy was unity of command, and he came to the conclusion that Marshal Foch, the one military genius whom the war had produced, was best fitted to exercise supreme control.

There is no need to dwell here upon the attacks upon Mr. Lloyd George framed by General Sir Frederick Maurice and other pamphleteering soldiers. It is quite untrue that our own General Headquarters favored unity of command. The plans devised by Mr. Lloyd George, including the creation of the Versailles Council, were obstructed doggedly by our Generals until

the Germans broke through in the Spring of 1918. Then the Generals acquiesced, but it was almost too late.

It is not my purpose to engage in detailed controversy upon Mr. Lloyd George's share in the direction of the war. I content myself with insisting that he guided and shaped the national will, that his remarkable intuitions upon military matters were generally well founded, and that his intrepid and soaring spirit was a priceless asset in the darkest hours. There was no Minister like him, not one, and he touched the popular imagination as none around him was able to do.

If I have associated with him the name of Lord Northcliffe, it is because both men were actuated by the same object, both had no thought but victory, and both rose to very great heights during the war. Lord Northcliffe used all his strength and all his power for the attainment of victory, and leading Germans have acknowledged the value of his work. It is admitted that his propaganda work did much to bring about the ultimate collapse of the German Empire. Though the ultimate breach between these two remarkable Britons was not healed, to the end they held each other in profound respect.

I have written so much upon Mr. Lloyd George's work in the war because it is by the war period that he will be chiefly remembered; but it is regrettable that in more recent years his services have been less worthy of praise. The financial policy of his Government since 1918 has been deplorable, and the waste and extravagance of the departments under his rule have brought us to the verge of ruin. We have never known a more wasteful Administration, and it will take the country many years to recover from the consequences of its prodigal expenditure.

In foreign affairs Mr. Lloyd George and his colleagues have pursued courses which I entirely condemn, and it is not much consolation to reflect that their mistakes have brought about their own undoing.

We should never have stayed in Mesopotamia and Palestine, and I trust we shall now leave both those countries. We should never have backed the Greeks against the Turks. Even today the closest friends of Mr. Lloyd George are completely at a loss to explain the misguided persistence with which he incited the Greeks to advance into the interior of Asia Minor.

The Near East policy of the Government has been wrecked, but we shall not readily regain the confidence of the Mohammedan world. One reason why Mr. Lloyd George's resignation may have good results is that it may eventually facilitate a better understanding with Mohammedans and also with France.

Though I feel strongly upon these grave questions, I do not for a moment wish to suggest that the career of Mr. Lloyd George is now ended. He is still full of energy, and though extremely tired after seventeen years of office, he is young as politicians go. His retirement is bound to be only temporary. The country will need him again, and I am sure he will emerge when our people call him, as undoubtedly they will.

This is not the time to pronounce a full estimate upon him, for his career may still contain many surprises; but to me he seems, despite certain faults, to be among the greatest Britons we have known in the last 500 years. I cannot conceive that any more notable figure has appeared in our public life since the days of Cromwell.

Mr. Lloyd George is no Cromwell, and the problems he has had to face and to solve are very different from those which confronted the Lord Protector; but he has vastly grown in stature since 1914, and today there is no other statesman in Europe of his calibre, his experience, or his value.

At the moment of his passing the nation should salute him with all respect. He has made mistakes, but *he is a good Briton, and even today not one of the men around him can be called his equal.*

PROHIBITION ON THE SEAS

By WAYNE B. WHEELER, LL. D.

Counsel of the Anti-Saloon League.

"Does the Constitution follow the flag? The question which was so much discussed about the time the United States began to extend its influence in the Pacific with the acquisition of Hawaii and other insular possessions following the Spanish-American War, is again brought to the forefront. The controversy grows out of the sale of liquor on American ships since the adoption of the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States."

THE United States Shipping Board, following the advice of its general counsel, has permitted the sale of liquors on American vessels outside of the three-mile limit. This practice was brought to the attention of the Attorney General on June 23, 1922, by the Secretary of the Treasury, with the request for a reconsideration of the ruling made by the Justice Department during the former Administration on Nov. 1, 1920, to the effect that the Eighteenth Amendment applied to vessels of the United States on the high seas. Two questions were asked; first, whether the Eighteenth Amendment and National Prohibition act applied to vessels of the United States on the high seas, and second, whether they applied to foreign vessels coming within the three-mile limit of the United States. The Attorney General, on Oct. 6, 1922, in a very full opinion answered both questions in the affirmative.

Judge Learned Hand of the United States Court for the Southern District of New York, on Oct. 23, 1922, in an injunction proceeding brought by the steamship companies to restrain the officers in the enforcement of the law, pronounced a very able opinion sustaining the contention of the Government on both points. Judge Hutchison of the District Court for the Southern District of Texas had already taken this view in an opinion rendered May 4, 1922, so far as vessels of the United States are concerned. The shipping interests have appealed from the decision of Judge Hand to the United States

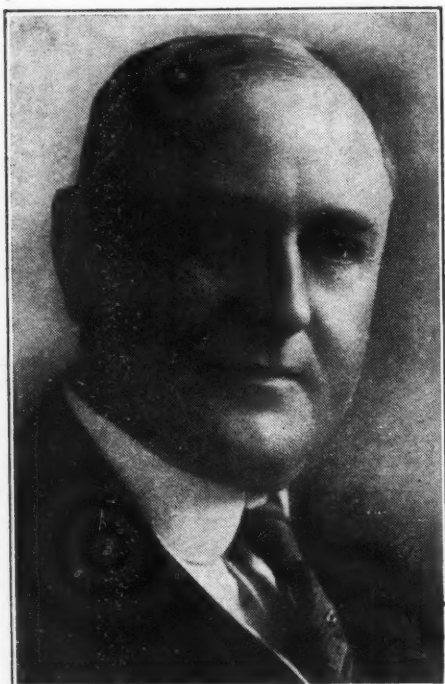
Supreme Court, and the Government has indicated that it will interpose no objection to a speedy hearing of the case in order that there may be a prompt adjudication of this important question. Meantime the controversy rages in the press.

Does the Constitution follow the flag? There have been many cases before the Supreme Court in which this question has been incidentally involved, but owing to the peculiar circumstances in each case the question seems not to have been squarely raised in such a clear-cut fashion as in the present controversy.

THE PEOPLE FOR PROHIBITION

The American people after fifty years of experimentation with every form of legislative license, regulation and control which human ingenuity could devise, had come to the conclusion that the beverage liquor traffic was one which could not be regulated but must be annihilated. Thirty-four of the States had enacted some form of prohibition by State law before the Eighteenth Amendment became effective, and in a large number of the other States in a large portion of their territory no licenses were granted by virtue of a local option law.

There was submitted in the Sixty-fifth Congress a resolution providing for the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution. This passed both houses of Congress by the required two-thirds majority, and was submitted to the Legislatures of the States for ratification. It was ratified by the Legislatures of the necessary three-fourths of the States within a shorter period of time than any amendment to the Constitution which had preceded it. Up to the present time forty-six of the forty-eight States have ratified this amendment. To a peculiar degree the Eighteenth Amendment and National Prohibition act are more directly responsive



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HARRY M. DAUGHERTY

Attorney General of the United States, author of the ruling that the Eighteenth Amendment applies to American ships on the high seas and to foreign ships coming within the three-mile limit of the United States

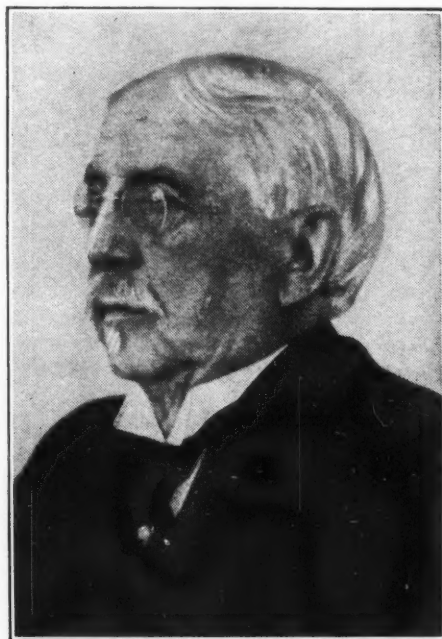
to the wishes of the American people than any other national legislation of recent history, because the representatives in Congress, in most instances, who voted for national prohibition had the expression of their constituents evidenced either by State prohibition legislation or through local option elections which furnished to them an index of their will. This cannot be said of any other legislation upon which that body has acted.

The Eighteenth Amendment prohibits the manufacture, sale or transportation of intoxicating liquors within the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes. The National Prohibition act, enacted for its enforcement, in sweeping terms prohibits all manufacture, sale, transportation or delivery of intoxicating liquors except as authorized in the statute. The source

of the prohibition in this case is an amendment to the Constitution which not only lays down the prohibition, but in comprehensive terms defines the scope of its operation. The Supreme Court, in the National Prohibition Cases, 253 U. S. 350, in speaking of the concurrent power of Congress to enforce the amendment, said: "The power confided to Congress by the provisions of the Eighteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution * * * while not exclusive is territorially co-extensive with the prohibition of that amendment."

LIQUOR ON THE SEAS

There is no exception made in the statute with reference to the transportation or sale of liquor on vessels. The fact, therefore, that liquor was being sold on the high seas upon vessels flying the flag of the United States, purchased and to a large extent maintained by the taxes of the people of the United States, after the people of the United States had by an

**JUDGE LEARNED HAND**

Who in the United States District Court in New York on Oct. 23, 1922, upheld the ruling of the Attorney General regarding prohibition on American and foreign ships

amendment to their fundamental law prohibited this traffic, presented an anomalous situation. This condition presented squarely the question of whether the Constitution followed the flag. Upon this point the Attorney General said:

I believe from the study of the history of conditions out of which the Eighteenth Amendment grew it is equally clear that the words "territory subject to the jurisdiction of the United States" carry the intent to extend its provisions over every spot where the flag of America flies. * * * I am of the opinion that under the rules of fair intendment, American ships, wherever they may be, are included in the terms of the Eighteenth Amendment, "territory subject to the jurisdiction of the United States," so that manufacture, transportation or sale of intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes is prohibited thereon.

The reasons which the Attorney General gave as sustaining his conclusion may be epitomized as follows:

The mischief to be prevented in prohibition enactments has been construed as the use of intoxicating liquor as a beverage (See *Crane vs. Campbell*, 245, U. S. 304). A glance at contemporary history and the conditions of affairs out of which the adoption of the Eighteenth Amendment arose, compels the admission that it represents the culmination of fifty years' struggle of the American people to settle effectively the problems arising from the use of intoxicating liquor as a beverage. * * * Our diplomatic correspondence and the opinions of the courts have uniformly considered that in so far as the restraining and protecting jurisdiction of our Government is concerned, American ships, whether owned by the Government or by private citizens or corporations, are in many respects territory of the United States. * * *

This portion of the opinion is so founded upon common sense and so strongly fortified by legal authorities as to have met with almost universal approval.

THE THREE-MILE LIMIT

The principal difference of opinion which has arisen over the ruling of the Attorney General has related to that part of the opinion which held that the transportation or possession of intoxicating liquors within the three-mile limit of the United States was prohibited. There is no doubt that the transportation or possession of liquor by foreign vessels under these circumstances is within the literal language of

the amendment and the statute. The sole point of difference is whether such transportation and possession is within the intendment of the law.

The United States Supreme Court in the cases of *Anchor Line vs. Aldridge and Grogan vs. Walker*, decided May 15, 1922, passed upon a question which from the standpoint of the foreign shipping interests presented a much stronger case on their behalf than does the present controversy. In that case certain British shipping interests relied upon a treaty concluded between this country and Great Britain on May 8, 1871, which provided that merchandise arriving at certain designated ports in this country destined for British possessions in North America might be entered at the Custom House and conveyed in transit without the payment of duties under such regulations as the Government of the United States might prescribe. They also relied upon Section 3005 of the Revised Statutes, as amended, which provided that merchandise arriving at any port of the United States destined for any foreign country could be entered at the Custom House, and conveyed in transit through the territory of the United States, without the payment of duties, under such regulations as the Secretary of the Treasury might prescribe. It was insisted that the British shipping interests had the right under customs bond to transfer intoxicating liquors from one British vessel to another British vessel in New York Harbor where such liquor was being transported from one British possession to another. The liquor was not intended to be used in this country, and was required to be under the inspection and supervision of the customs officers while in transit.

The United States Supreme Court, however, held that such transportation was prohibited in view of the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution. Justice Holmes, in speaking for the court, said:

In view of the parallelism between the statute and the treaty, the question seems of no importance except so far as the existence of the treaty might be supposed to intensify the reasons for construing later legislation as not overruling it. But makeweights of that sort are not enough to affect the result here. * * * The Eighteenth Amendment meant a great revolution in the policy of this country, and presumably and

obviously meant to upset a good many things on as well as off the statute book. It did not confine itself in any meticulous way to the use of intoxicants in this country. It forbade export for beverage purpose elsewhere. True, this discouraged production here, but that was forbidden already, and the provision applied to liquors already lawfully made. * * * It is obvious that those whose wishes and opinions were embodied in the amendment meant to stop the whole business. They did not want intoxicating liquor in the United States, and reasonably may have thought that if they let it in some of it was likely to stay. * * *

This case was immeasurably stronger because the shipping interests there relied upon an express provision of a treaty and the statute of the United States. Notwithstanding this fact, the Supreme Court held both the treaty and the statute repealed by the subsequent enactment of the Eighteenth Amendment in so far as they applied to beverage intoxicants. In the present controversy the foreign shipping interests relied solely upon a prevailing practice. This is clearly insufficient where the people of the United States have changed their national policy with reference to the particular commodity involved.

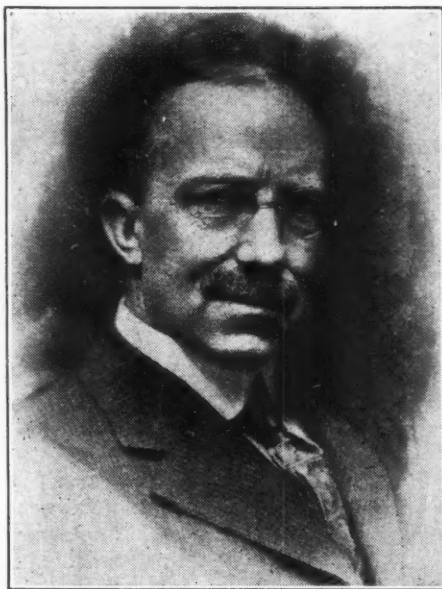
JUDGE LEARNED HAND'S DECISION

This was clearly expressed by Judge Hand, on Oct. 23, 1922, in his decision when quoting the decision of the United States Supreme Court in the case cited above:

It is true that, as suggested in *Grogan vs. Walker*, the provision against export may have been intended to prevent the use of stimulants outside the United States, and, so far as it was, the argument applies with stronger force to the case at bar. But taken substantially, the only evil which the transit could accomplish was that some of the liquor should not complete its passage.

In the cases at bar the danger of an escape is equally present, not perhaps in the case of these plaintiffs, but I cannot regard them alone. Less responsible owners may not be as scrupulous, and the law runs for all. The distinction which puts these cases within the law with much greater certainty is the purpose for which the liquors are brought and kept here. Ignoring for the moment the crews, all of the stocks are avowedly intended for the consumption of those who are now within the United States, of which a substantial part are residents or citizens, the very persons whom it was the whole purpose of the amendment to prevent drinking liquors. Naturally I have nothing to say about the wisdom of the amendment or the law, but, wise or not, one thing is clear, that a drink of whisky is as hurt-

full to health and morals outside as inside Ambrose Light. It appears to me inconceivable, when one is discussing the implied intent of Congress, that a statute cast in such sweeping terms should be read as indifferent to open preparations within the United States for the gratification by its citizens of exactly those appetites which it was the avowed intent of the statute altogether to deny. Nor do I believe that any one would hesitate to think so who did not already repudiate the whole reform. If, for example, we were to substitute cocaine or opium for alcohol, I can scarcely think there could be any disinterested difference of opinion. * * *



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The Eighteenth Amendment is an act of sovereignty. It is a well-established principle,

both of international and municipal law, that whenever a dispute occurs between a territorial sovereign and a foreign power as to the extent of the former, the presumption is against the foreign State, and upon it the burden lies of proving its claim beyond doubt or question. In the present case foreign shipping interests are seeking a special privilege and an exemption from the operation of a provision of the organic law of the United States. Under every legal rule of interpretation the presumption is against them.

CHIEF JUSTICE MARSHALL'S OPINION

Chief Justice Marshall stated the law in this connection in the case of the schooner *Exchange vs. McFadden et al.*, 7 Cranch 114, 3 L. Ed. 287, wherein he said:

The jurisdiction of the nation within its own territory is necessarily exclusive and absolute. It is susceptible of no limitation not imposed by itself. Any restriction upon it, deriving validity from an external source, would imply a diminution of its sovereignty to the extent of the restriction, and an investment of that sovereignty to the same extent in that power which could impose such restrictions. All exceptions, therefore, to the full and complete power of a nation within its own territories must be traced up to the consent of the nation itself. They can flow from no other legitimate source.

In this case he also laid down the principle that merchant vessels of one sovereign entering the ports of another subject themselves to the port of entry. Upon this question he said:

When private individuals of one nation spread themselves through another as business or caprice may direct, mingling indiscriminately with the inhabitants of that other, or when merchant vessels enter for the purpose of trade, it would be obviously inconvenient and dangerous to society, and would subject the laws to continual infraction, and the Government to degradation, if such individuals or merchants did not owe temporary and local allegiance and were not amenable to the jurisdiction of the country. Nor can the foreign sovereign have any motive for wishing such exemption. His subjects thus passing into foreign countries are not employed by him nor are they engaged in national pursuits. Consequently there are powerful motives for not exempting persons of this description from the jurisdiction of the country in which they are found, and no one motive for requiring it. The implied license, therefore, under which they enter can never be construed to grant such exemption.

This enunciation by Chief Justice Marshall has been repeatedly followed by the Supreme Court, and has become a well-established principle of our jurisprudence. Even before the adoption of the Eighteenth Amendment Congress was possessed of the power under the authority given by the Constitution to regulate commerce with foreign nations, to prohibit the importation or transportation within the United States of any commodities which in pursuance of its legislative policy it deemed wise. This right was repeatedly exercised,

as for example in the acts providing for the exclusion and deportation of anarchists; prohibiting the importation, receiving or transportation of opium; prohibiting the importation of inferior tea; prohibiting the importation of sponges of a smaller size than that fixed by law. This right is one inherent in sovereignty and has been exercised by all nations. The requirement, therefore, that foreign vessels visiting our shores shall comply with our laws, conflicts with no established principle of international law.

It is contended by the shippers that the question of the comity of nations is seriously involved in the issue under discussion, and that to construe the Federal prohibition legislation as prohibiting all transportation within the territorial limits of the country would involve the United States in serious trade controversies. There is a far more serious question involved than mere matters of comity and trade, namely, whether there shall be enforced in the United States the laws of the United States, or whether there is to be substituted for the will of the nation that of foreign powers. In view of the source of this legislation, which is the will of the people expressed in an amendment to the Constitution, it would be contrary to American traditions, inconsistent with all precedents of treaty, constitutional and statutory interpretations to read into the law by implication an exception not expressly contained therein, and one tending to defeat its purpose, merely upon the grounds of inconvenience of trade.

The shipping interests have urged, as one of the reasons for seeking this exemption, the fact that the laws of their country require that the immigrants and members of their crews be furnished with wines. The laws of those nations fix the conditions upon which vessels of the United States may enter and seek their trade. If foreign nations in pursuance of their domestic policies can require vessels entering their ports and seeking their trade, to comply with their domestic laws, certainly the United States is no less sovereign than any one of these nations. Shall the express

will of the people of the United States embodied in an amendment to their fundamental law be declared subordinate to the will of any other people? That is the issue in this controversy. The construction which is sought by the foreign shipping interests involves a limitation upon the sovereign right of the people of the United States inconsistent with all of her past traditions, and incompatible with their honesty of purpose; whereas the construction which is given the law by Judge Hand asserts the right of a sovereign people to enforce their fundamental law and imposes upon foreign nations no duty of observance inconsistent with any principle of international law. It will treat all nations alike. This is but an elementary principle of simple justice.

EFFECT ON MERCHANT MARINE

The main objection which has been made to this opinion is voiced by those who fear the disastrous effect of the ruling upon our merchant marine and alleged international complications. Mr. Lasker, head of the Shipping Board, has expressed the fear that this dry ruling will greatly handicap the American merchant marine financially. From the furor which has been created in certain quarters by the opinion on the subject of liquor on American ships one would imagine that the vessels of the merchant marine were propelled by alcohol. The fact of the matter is that though liquor has been sold upon the vessels operated by the United States Shipping Board since the Eighteenth Amendment became effective, this privilege has not made them profitable, for the operation of these ships represent to the taxpayers of the United States during the year just ended a loss of \$50,000,000.

The success of America as a competitor with other great carriers of commerce on the high seas is not dependent upon whether liquors shall be sold on vessels flying her flag. This is an insignificant matter compared with the other handicaps she faces in the matter of building up a merchant marine. In the first place, as a result of the Civil War and the policy

followed thereafter, the United States had permitted herself to become supplanted as a great carrier of commerce. Her present merchant fleet was largely constructed during the World War, when the exigencies of the situation required that the facilities of transportation be furnished without regard to cost. As a result, the investment in ships is greatly in excess of that of other countries for ships of the same class. When it comes to the actual operation of the ships, further difficulties are encountered because of the fact that under the shipping laws of the United States higher standards are fixed, more safeguards are required for the health and comfort of the seamen, and American shipowners are compelled to compete with vessels operating under foreign flags whose nations do not have such high standards. Furthermore, the other great maritime powers are furnishing aid to their merchant marine either in the form of discriminating duties or ship subsidies. These are a few of the difficulties encountered in attempting to enter into competition upon the high seas with foreign powers. In view of that fact, it is apparent what a trifling matter it becomes whether the sale of liquor shall be permitted upon our vessels.

Even if the sale of liquor aboard American ships would wipe out the deficit, which it has not done heretofore, the people of the United States are not willing that their own and foreign citizens should be debauched for that purpose any more than American business is willing to debauch its customers in order to wipe out any loss which may accrue. The day when American business sanctions the liquor business in any of its forms has passed.

Who wants to bring liquor into our ports? The rum sellers on the other side and the bootleggers on this side. This nation has never allowed foreign interference in domestic affairs, and the grog peddlers of Europe should be treated as trespassers and not as invited guests. The people are determined that the Statue of Liberty shall not light the way of the foreign distillers' flotilla, nor the Golden Gate harbor the fleet of the emissaries of Bacchus.

The number of American business men

who will take their wives and babies to a Canadian port to embark for Europe, for the purpose of getting aboard a liquor-carrying ship is relatively small. It has been a long time since American business and the rum traffic have had any interests in common. The divorce was applied for and granted long before the passage of the Eighteenth Amendment. There are some whisky and beer advocates in high places in our Government—not many. The President of the United States says the Eighteenth Amendment is here “to stay,” and in nearly every branch of the nation’s business, strong men agree. The American public has taken the fair name of the United States off the banners of the whisky interests, both foreign and domestic, and this same public is familiar with the propaganda now being spread under the guise of economy in Government.

NO INJURY TO SHIPPING

The suggestion that prohibition aboard American ships will wreck the merchant marine is based upon an exaggerated idea of the relation of the liquor selling privilege to the main purpose of the business, which is the transportation of passengers and freight. It is the same argument which has been advanced with reference to prohibition when applied to business on land, only to be refuted by experience. There is scarcely a line of endeavor on the land that has not prospered since the adoption of the Eighteenth Amendment. Industry is thriving. Even the grape grower, who was supposedly to be ruined when prohibition came, has a wider market and a higher price for his product. Business adjusted itself to its new conditions and sighed with relief. If you doubt its prosperity, go into any city in the land and try to rent a first-class business room. Such rooms are not to be had at any price; not even the locations of the former grog shops. What has happened? They have been caught in the ever rising tide of prosperous and legitimate business. In short words, the “land howl” of wrecked business, high taxes, empty rooms, men out of work and general, awful calamity—all propaganda of the dying liquor business, has been proved false. On every side and in every community prosperity without the saloon is in

evidence. Now we have the “sea howl” of a wrecked merchant marine, higher taxes, foreign competition, men out of work and general calamity. Doesn’t it sound familiar? Where are these rum sellers going to get rid of their rum? That is what they are interested in and nothing more. Cannot a country which has prospered beyond all nations of the earth under prohibition on land so readjust itself to the provisions of its Constitution as to prosper on the sea? Every fair minded man and woman in this country knows that it can and will.

The merchant marine has been a problem for solution among our leading statesmen for years, and the whisky business never entered into their deliberations. The traffic in intoxicating liquor will never be a consideration. Hard headed business sense has never been and never will be guided by wet propaganda in this country. From the time of the late Senator Marcus A. Hanna, who was one of the foremost advocates of the merchant marine in his day, to the present time, no man of business judgment has ever included the whisky business as a part of the program of the United States in establishing trade on the high seas. Whenever the question has been injected, it has been principally through the medium of insidious wet propaganda, injected into press reports and other avenues of public information. There is scarcely an outstanding figure in the business world today who says that the sale of whisky is necessary to the successful conduct of a merchant marine, or of any other business enterprise. On the contrary, nearly every great manufacturer or employer of labor in this country has taken the stand that intoxicating liquor is the most dangerous enemy to the conduct of all business. Giant corporations, the steel industry, the railroads, the automobile industry, the Government itself and trade channels of every kind, have outlawed whisky. Its most earnest advocates are those who would profit by its manufacture and sale. The motives of business are to protect and elevate the body politic. The motive of the whisky dealer is to enrich himself, regardless of the human cost.

After it has been proved by actual experience in this country that there is no

room for intoxicating liquor in any form as an aid to industrial prosperity or social uplift upon the land, what argument can avail to reverse this condition as applied to the operations of this great nation on the high seas?

A great deal of sympathy is being expressed in certain circles for the seamen who would be deprived of their liquor. Seamen on American ships or foreign ships will not be injured, but benefited by having liquor eliminated from the cargo and the ship stores. Intoxicating beverages have always been a menace to the health, morals and safety of the people. No one has suffered more from this evil than these same seamen, with whom the liquor interests are now sympathizing so vociferously because they cannot get their supply of liquor. Long before prohibition the Government recognized the evils of the liquor traffic on board ships, and enacted a statute to protect the seamen who would sign contracts while intoxicated.

In the long run, prohibition will work

out just as beneficially on a ship as it will in the State or nation. Though it may not be a wise policy to insist upon the exercise of all the legal power that we possess, or upon the enactment of legislation which will prevent foreign ships coming to our shores from possessing liquor on the high seas outside the three-mile limit, as proposed by the measures sponsored by the shipping interests; yet the United States of America cannot afford to back down and surrender her sovereign rights to enforce her own laws simply because the liquor interests in some foreign country object. The harm that would come to the United States from the adoption of such a policy of winking at law violations would be infinitely greater than any money loss or alleged international difficulties which may arise. A nation which has the moral fibre to destroy the beverage liquor traffic should have the moral courage to enforce the laws to make a constitutional amendment for prohibition effective.

AUSTRALIA'S POWERFUL RADIO PLANT

AUSTRALIA is no longer to be isolated in the Pacific Ocean, for this far-lying British dominion will soon be linked by a radio plant—one of the most powerful in the world—with the mother country and with every other nation, even on the opposite side of the globe. By an agreement signed in March, 1922, the Amalgamated Wireless Company of Australasia guaranteed the erection of the plant, and the project will soon be an accomplished fact. The transmitting apparatus will have a range of 12,000 miles, and the plant will cover a square mile of ground, on which twenty-four great towers will be erected. The inception of the enterprise dates back five years. Early in 1916 an operator of the Perth wireless station in Western Aus-

tralia was trying to get in touch with a convoy of Australian transports crossing the Indian Ocean. Suddenly he picked up an unfamiliar note and soon, with tense interest, he found himself listening to a flood of pro-German and anti-allied war news. Finally came the signature, "Poz." He seized his code-book. "Poz" was Nauen, Germany, thousands of miles beyond any station previously heard in the Australian Commonwealth. The powerful range of this German radio station gave Australians food for thought. The feasibility of the present project was shown by experiments conducted in September, 1910, when the radio station at Carnarvon, England, flashed waves to New South Wales in one-fifteenth of a second.

WHAT IS OUR CRIME RECORD?

By JAMES BRONSON REYNOLDS
President of the American Institute of Criminal Law
and Criminology

The United States fatally handicapped in the fight against crime—No adequate records kept by courts, cities, States, or by the Federal authorities—Striking statistics from Canada and England

A CARNIVAL of crime in the United States was said to have reached its pinnacle last Spring and is now said to be subsiding. How complete is our evidence of the carnival, of its pinnacle and of its subsidence? Do our neighbor nations know more or less than we?

The best summary of available evidence was given by Charles Frederick Carter in the February CURRENT HISTORY under the title "The Carnival of Crime in the United States." The writer showed that we lack official information and must look to non-government business organizations for our facts. He also made clear that such sources are incomplete and inadequate. Private associations report only on crimes affecting their own members; while we learn from such a source, for instance, the number of bank robberies committed against 23,632 members of the American Bankers Association, we are left ignorant of the number committed against 9,611 non-members. As the Bankers Association has strong protective features, it is probable that fewer crimes are committed against its members than against bankers not so well protected; but we do not know. The Bankers Association reported a bank robbery in some form every 19 hours and 15 minutes of the year; were the number of crimes committed against non-members as great but no greater, there would be one bank robbery every 13 hours and 13 minutes, but we do not know whether the totals were greater or less.

Such figures as are possessed by the Automobile Chambers of Commerce re-

port the losses by auto thefts in the twenty-eight principal cities. The totals are informing and shocking. In these cities 27,445 cars were stolen in 1918 and 30,046 in 1920. At an average value of \$500 each this would mean a loss to automobile owners in 1920 of \$15,023,000. But how many auto thefts were there in the 260 other cities with a population over 25,000 each? We do not know. The twenty-eight cities reporting thefts are in only nineteen out of forty-eight States, and comprise not much more than one-half the urban population of the country. As a thermometer of crime this record leaves much to be desired, as the writer of the article in CURRENT HISTORY has indicated.

The losses paid by burglary insurance companies grew from \$1,686,195 in 1916 to \$10,189,853 in 1920, an increase of 543 per cent. in five years. But what per cent. was this of the total losses from burglaries by those not insured? Had we the figures, our alarmed sensibilities might be quieted, or we might learn that the total increase was more than 543 per cent. Again we do not know.

W. J. Burns ventures an estimate of \$106,000,000 as the annual loss from thefts suffered by railroads, express companies and other transportation agencies in this country. Mr. Burns is likely to be as near the truth as any one, but even he can only estimate. No one can challenge his statement. No one can prove it. "Not a single large city in the country issues a clear and comprehensive police report," as Mr. Carter states. "No two follow the same form; none follow the same form

from year to year." Judge Otto A. Rosalsky of New York *estimates* that there are 30,000 professional criminals in New York State. The Chicago Crime Commission *estimates* that there are 10,000 professional criminals in that city. In default of knowledge, such guesses may have a certain value, but shall we continue to conduct public business in blindness illumined only by guessing?

Can we afford to have less than complete reports from all available sources as to the existence of a crime wave? If such complete reports obtained from all States and all cities show there is a crime wave, do we not want to know what crimes have increased or lessened, and in what sections of the country increase or decrease has occurred? With such information at our command we should know whether or not to be alarmed, and should have an invaluable guide as to the proper point of attack. If legislative action is needed, we should be able to legislate like statesmen; not, as at present, like gamblers or children in a guessing game.

CANADIAN CRIME STATISTICS

That our present ignorance is not necessary we may ascertain by inquiry of some of our neighbors—for instance, Canada. We find at once that our northern neighbor is much better informed and that the getting of such information is with him a long-established habit. The last Canadian report, that for 1921, is entitled "Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Judicial Branch, Ottawa, Canada," with the specification, "Forty-fifth Annual Report of Criminal Statistics for the Year Ended Sept. 30, 1920." The report is for all of Canada, including Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and British Columbia. It gives a complete list of the indictable offenses for the year 1920 by judicial districts. They are uniformly classified under offenses against the person, against property with violence and without violence, malicious offenses against property, forgery and other offenses not included in the foregoing classes. There follow tables of persons convicted of indictable offenses—by occupation, place of birth, religion—and tables of summary convictions, of the number of cases handled by different courts,

of the indictable offenses by courts and provinces, 1913-20, with tables of juvenile offenders, police statistics and tables of pardons and commutations. Realizing that mere statistics, if not correctly understood, are misleading, an expert statistician summarizes and interprets the mass of figures supplied.

Some facts that the Canadian people have learned yearly through this highly useful document are worth summarizing to make clear what they know and we do not know. In addition to informing statistics for the year under review, comparisons with the reports of other years are introduced. The published criminal records thus give the people and officials of Canada extensive information as to the crimes committed, the variations from year to year, and illuminating comments thereon.

Police statistics give the total number of offenses "known to the police." These records were not so complete as desired. One hundred and four cities and towns with a population of over 4,000 each were asked to report, and only eighty-eight responded with satisfactory statements. By way of wholesome stimulus the names of the communities which did not report were published. It may safely be prophesied that some of the delinquents will not be found wanting in the next report. Fear of political reproof did not deter the statistician from telling the truth without favor.

Returns from these twenty-eight cities of Canada for the year ending Sept. 30, 1920, total 162,708 convictions as against 130,019 convictions for 1919, an increase of 25.14 per cent. The increase of 1919 over 1918 was 5.48 per cent. The increase for 1920 is almost entirely in the non-indictable or summary convictions, which increased by 29.2 per cent. The increase of 1919 over 1918 for indictable offenses shows the lowest ratio of increase since 1917, which was the lowest since 1911. The increase of 1919 over 1918 was 5.91 per cent.; that of 1920 over 1919 was 0.25 per cent. Thus it appears that although the figures for crime in general have been increasing since the war, serious crime has received a check.

The statistics show that 20.3 per cent. of the total convictions for indictable offenses were of children under sixteen years

of age, a decrease of 2.3 per cent. from the figures of the previous year. In 1920 the percentage of juvenile crime to the total had dropped to 18.19 per cent. Previous to 1919 for a period of fourteen years it had been gradually rising. Thus the facts point to the encouraging conclusion that juvenile crime is on the downward trend. Whether or not this trend continues, Canada will know in due time.

The total number of indictable offenses in 1920 was 23,213, compared with 23,021 in 1919. The convictions were 18,443 for 1920 and 18,396 for 1919. This shows percentages of convictions of 79.5 per cent. and 79.9 per cent. The percentage of convictions to total prosecutions has been increasing for a period of years, having risen from 66 per cent. in 1891 to almost 80 per cent. in 1920, with a corresponding decrease of acquittals. At the same time the gradation of punishment for crimes has been toward less severity. The ratio of fines and suspended sentences to terms of imprisonment has increased. In 1891 fines imposed, as compared with convictions of indictable offenses, were 14.4 per cent. of the total; in 1920 the ratio had increased to 30.0 per cent.; suspended sentences increased from 17 to 35.7 per cent. Jail sentences decreased from 53 to 25 per cent. Terms of imprisonment from two to five years decreased from 7.1 to 1.4 per cent.

Do not these highly suggestive figures raise the question, among others, whether the juries might be more disposed to convict when they find Judges more moderate in the infliction of penalties? Those who call most loudly for increasing severity of penalties might do well to study the action of juries in enforcing laws to which extreme penalties are attached. It is a grave question whether, on this ground alone, the imposition of severe penalties is not a deterrent to successful prosecution of offenders. The increase in the proportion of convictions may mean that the machinery of the law has become steadily more efficient. The public prosecutor is entitled to the presumption, and we "greatly long to know" if the facts warrant a similar presumption in this country.

By sexes the convictions for 1920 show 135,873 males, 8,392 females. The ratio

of females convicted in the years 1918-20 were 7.37, 7.43 and 5.83 per cent. respectively. The decrease in the number of female convictions in 1920 is notable, as for several years it had been increasing.

CRIME RECORDS IN ENGLAND

Not less informing are the records of the judicial statistics for England and Wales. The English report for criminal statistics for 1919, the last issue, contains statistics relating to "criminal proceedings, police, coroners, prisons, reformatory and industrial schools and criminal lunatics." Similar reports appear to have been issued since 1892. The criminal statistics form a part of the annual report on judicial statistics. The earliest reports, those from 1805 to 1856, contain tables of trials at assizes and quarter sessions, that is, statistics of major offenses.

The English report, like that of Canada, contains an instructive introduction by an expert presenting the fluctuations of criminality since the year 1913. It thus sheds light on many matters upon which both the people and the Government desired light, as do we in this country. One of the most interesting questions is that as to the variations of criminality during and since the war. So far as the statistics of indictable offenses may be regarded as an index, there was less crime in 1919 in England and Wales than in any other year of the present century. The number of persons indicted was 63,269 for 1913, 58,559 for 1914, 55,335 for 1915, 58,617 for 1916, 63,005 for 1917, 58,371 for 1918, and only 53,541 for 1919. The annual averages for the periods 1900-1904, 1905-1909, 1910-1914 were 56,911, 63,438 and 63,613.

Five-sixths of the cases which come to the courts are brought on charges of dishonesty. The annual totals of indictments for the various forms of stealing were 50,154 for 1913, 46,060 for 1914, 44,298 for 1915, 47,462 for 1916, 51,189 for 1917, 46,514 for 1918 and 40,763 for 1919. The decrease in these offenses since 1917 is remarkable. A decrease in thefts usually coincides with periods of high wages and plentiful employment. For comparison it may be stated that the number of persons in receipt of poor law relief fell continuously from 742,021 in July,

1914, and 762,060 in January, 1915, to 549,672 in July, 1919. While offenses against the poor laws in 1913 were 6,256 for unlawful pledging, 202 for begging and 27,523 for sleeping out, they were only 1,431, 54 and 3,510, respectively, in 1919.

A decrease of offenses since 1917 does not, however, apply to all offenses against the person. Crimes of violence, which were 1,387 in 1913, were 763 in 1917, 786 in 1918 and 981 in 1919. Sexual offenses, on the other hand, were 1,939 in 1913, 1,284 in 1917, 1,469 in 1918 and 2,159 in 1919. The absence during the war of a large part of the adult male population doubtless explains the reduction in both kinds of offense. The figures for crime of violence in 1919 were only 71 per cent. of the number in 1913, but the figures for sexual offenses exceeded those of 1913 by more than 11 per cent. The excess was apparently due to a remarkable increase in cases of bigamy. If we exclude bigamy, the total for crimes of sexual offenses in 1919 is less than 69 per cent. of the figures for 1913, a decrease practically equal to that of crimes of violence.

The figures for bigamy for the years 1913 to 1919 were 133, 130, 211, 317, 435, 593 and 917. This striking increase may be compared to that of petitions of divorce, 998 in 1913 and 5,085 in 1919.

Though larcenies and other offenses of dishonesty not accompanied by violence have decreased, there is no corresponding decrease in offenses such as burglary and housebreaking. Approximately the level of 1914 was continued during the entire period from 1913 to 1919. But burglaries diminished by nearly one-half, while shop breaking showed a corresponding increase which counterbalanced reductions in the previous offense.

A substantial reduction in the number of minor or non-indictable offenses occurred between 1913 and 1919, though the increase in 1919 over 1918 amounted to 50 per cent. Many of the minor offenses were merely violations of public health or safety regulations; during the war there was naturally less stringency in the enforcement of such regulations. Therefore, the reduction in the number of such persons proceeded against during the period

since 1913 may probably be regarded as a natural consequence of the diversion of the police to special service connected with the war and the reduction of the strength of the police force. But in 1919, when the police force was restored to its pre-war strength and efficiency, there was a jacking up of public slackness in obeying the health and other regulations.

An instructive review of juvenile offenses in England and Wales during the war is given. The record for the years 1913-1919 of juvenile larcenies and similar offenses is as follows: 1913, 12,595; 1914, 12,823; 1915, 17,821; 1916, 20,463; 1917, 20,974; 1918, 17,661 and 1919, 11,445. The significant reduction in 1918 and the reduction in 1919 below the figure of 1913 showed a gratifying restoration of law and order among the young. The figures relating to assaults, violation of police regulations and vagrancy offenses showed the same favorable changes in 1919. On the other hand, the figures relating to malicious damage in 1913 were 4,765, in 1917 were 8,571 in 1918 were 9,242 and in 1919 were 7,150, a large excess in 1919 over 1913. The statistician states that in his view the figures tended to confirm the widely held opinion that juvenile crime increased during the war owing to the absence of fathers.

The decrease since 1913 in the number of convicted prisoners is unparalleled. The figures for the years 1913-1919 were in 1913, 139,060; in 1914, 118,829; in 1915, 63,218; in 1916, 45,649; in 1917, 35,097; in 1918, 27,787, and in 1919, 31,032. The figures for 1918 were the lowest on record. The year 1913 was the first in the present century when the total fell below 150,000. In 1904 the total was nearly 200,000 (198,395). Nearly the entire decrease is explained by the reduction in the number of persons summarily convicted, that is, convicted for minor offenses.

LACK OF AMERICAN DATA

These abundant statistics are cited because they answer questions much discussed in this country, but for which we can obtain no satisfactory answers, because we have not the data to answer them.

From both the Canadian and the British statistics it is possible to learn the increase or decrease each year in the crimes charged, in the cases brought to trial and in the conviction and imprisonment of offenders. The writer recently turned to the National Government for its answer to the people's alarmed inquiries as to the volume of crime and its increase within the last few years. The sole answer is contained in a volume of the census report for 1910, which is limited to a statement of the prison population for that year. The Government gives no report on crimes committed, or arrests or convictions. It can answer none of the questions of which our nearest neighbors have such complete information. It seems incredible that this country should have been content to blunder along so many years, during which we have had repeated charges of crime waves and repeated denials by the police. It is always possible for a reporter to obtain striking instances of criminality, for editors to write alarming editorials on current tendencies revealed by the labors of their reporters. It is no less easy for the police to make blanket denials on equally unstable grounds. The situation, however, under which such charges and denials can be made is unworthy of an intelligent Government and discreditable to the civilization of the nation.

The statistics presented in the English and Canadian reports are based on records which are supposed to be kept up also in this country; but court and police records in this country simply are not compiled, or if here and there they are compiled for particular courts or in particular cities, they nowhere reach a common depository; nor do they fall into the hands of expert statisticians, men who are fitted to co-ordinate the figures and to report the total to the National Government, adding such

comments as are needed to explain mystifying columns of numbers.

The criminal courts in a few large cities, it is true, publish annual reports; but there is no standard observed by the courts of different cities, hence, as in the case of police reports, comparisons and general conclusions are impossible. In some States the Secretary of State issues a regular report of criminal statistics, in a few the Attorney General makes reports, in others the State Prison Commission gives a varying comprehensive report. Why should not these authorities get together and agree upon standard forms and summaries? If half a dozen or a dozen States would thus work together, the National Government might be moved to take its proper leadership in the task.

Probably we must begin by securing civic action. If chambers of commerce, labor unions and other civic bodies whose members suffer from criminality would agitate, petitioning their Governors and other State officials, there would soon be a rattling of the dry bones. Properly comprehensive State criminal reports would establish a standard likely to find many imitators. Such reports should be compiled and issued under the direction of a trained statistician, not a political veteran or pensioner.

"Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray" that such provision for larger knowledge of what is happening in the underworld of crime and in the upper world of law and order may be established. When it is done, one more important step will have been taken in the long warfare of society against anarchy and crime. Then when a crime wave comes we shall not, as now, strike blindly and often wrongly, but surely and directly at the places and the elements from which the trouble makers come.

ITALY'S BLOODLESS REVOLUTION

How the weak Italian Government was overthrown by 100,000 armed Fascisti, headed by Benito Mussolini—Dramatic events in Rome follow Premier Facta's resignation and the King's invitation to Mussolini to head a new Cabinet—The King retains sovereignty

THE Fascisti movement has marched to triumph, and Italy now has a new and powerful Government, headed by Benito Mussolini, the Fascisti leader. This revolution—for it was nothing less—was accomplished by the Fasci with virtually no bloodshed, and their success was proclaimed to Italy at the end of October, when King Victor Emmanuel, faced by the rising sea of Fascismo which threatened to submerge the Government, bowed to the imperious will of organized military forces estimated at between 400,000 and 800,000 youthful patriots, and sent Signor Mussolini an invitation to come to Rome and organize his own Government. Mussolini's progress to Rome was like an ancient Roman "triumph." Installed in office, he at once displayed tremendous energy, formed a strong Cabinet, and began to work out plans for budgetary, economic and political reform, ready for presentation to the Parliament which reconvened Nov. 16. These momentous events were accomplished among scenes of intense popular enthusiasm, in which Mussolini shared honors with the King, whose sovereignty was left unimpaired. The Fascisti army, after invading Rome by the thousands, peacefully disbanded. Thus Italy's bloodless revolution was accomplished.

The overthrow of the weak Facta Cabinet and the accession to power of the Fascisti was already in sight in the first week of October. On Oct. 5 Mussolini, in a speech at Milan, declared: "In Italy there exist two Governments—a fictitious one, run by Facta, and a real one, run by the Fascisti. The first of these must give way to the second." This statement was no exaggeration. Mussolini at this time was

already virtually a dictator, making decisions of the gravest character, such as demanding an early summoning of Parliament, and the suppression of the Central Office for the liberated provinces, notably the Trentino, to which the Government found itself compelled to yield. Both the political and military strength of this young twentieth century Garibaldi were steadily increasing. The Fascisti army was stated at this time to total 450,000 well-armed and well-officered men, and to include detachments of cavalry and batteries of field guns, machine guns, armored cars and even submarine chasers. The first session of the annual convention of the Fascisti organization, held in Naples on Oct. 24, was attended by 90,000 Fascisti, who greeted with wild enthusiasm Mussolini's statement that he had been offered by the Government certain minor portfolios, but had "demanded" for his party the portfolios of Foreign Affairs, War, Navy, Labor and Public Works. His further statement: "Italian unity has been strongly cemented by the House of Savoy"—a clear intimation that in the already imminent overthrow no attempt would be made to impair the sovereignty of the King—was loudly applauded. The temper of Mussolini was shown by his last statement as he left Naples at the close of the session the following day: "I take a solemn oath that either the Government of the country must be given peacefully to the Fascisti, or we will take it by force." Michele Bianchi, the Fascista Secretary, who had conveyed to the Italian Government the organization's previous ultimata, declared that half a million Fascisti were ready to seize the Government and proceed to the regeneration of Italy.



(Photo Underwood & Underwood)

BENITO MUSSOLINI

Leader of the Fascisti, who has become Premier of Italy

The writing on the wall was plain for the Facta Government to read. On Oct. 26 Premier Facta and his entire Ministry resigned after Mussolini had called together all the military leaders of his organization and ordered them to mobilize all Fascista forces in case the Facta Government offered resistance. The Fascisti had been reinforced by the adherents of Gabriele d'Annunzio, with whom Mussolini, after fruitless attempts to reach an understanding with ex-Premier Giolitti, succeeded in effecting an agreement. By Oct. 28 the Fascisti forces were seizing control of various Italian cities and cutting communications between the north, centre and south. The King returned to Rome on Oct. 27, and on the following day conferred with ex-Premier Giolitti and other Parliamentary leaders. All possible combinations, however, seemed hopeless in view of the dominating personality of Mussolini and his large and well organized battalions, which had virtually seized the whole of Italy.

Seeing no other alternative, King Victor Emmanuel bowed to the power and dynamic will of the Fascisti and sent an invitation to Mussolini to come to Rome and form his own Ministry. It was universally recognized at this time that Mussolini was the arbiter of the situation and must assume responsibility for carrying out the Fascisti program. On receiving the invitation, Mussolini went from Milan to Lake Garda, where he consulted Gabriele d'Annunzio, and subsequently left Milan for Rome on a special train placed at his disposal by the King. Royal military honors were shown him by the King's troops. Deputy de' Vecchi, one of his supreme military commanders, on Oct. 29 had a momentous interview with the King. He insisted on the highly patriotic aims of the Fascisti, who, he declared, had no intention of upsetting the institutions of Italy or the monarchical régime, and wished only to cleanse Italian public life and infuse a new spirit into the national organism. The King, deeply moved, embraced de' Vecchi, and declared that though he would scrupulously observe the Italian Constitution, he would give Italy a government representative of the new spirit pervading the country. At this

time the Fascisti legions are massing around Rome. The news that Mussolini would head a new Cabinet relaxed the general tension and the whole atmosphere changed. Though the "Black Shirts," as the Fascisti are now called from the principal feature of their attire, analogous to the "red shirts" of Garibaldi, were fully mobilized in Rome, they committed only one act of disorder, when they invaded and occupied the burned offices of the newspaper *Il Paese*, owned by ex-Premier Nitti. A crowd of fully 200,000 people assembled in the Quirinal Square in the evening and demanded that the King carry out the Fascisti program of reform in its entirety. Fighting was reported only at Cremona.

The next scene of this political and national drama was enacted with the arrival of Mussolini at Rome on Oct. 30. The Fascisti leader was met at Civita Vecchia by the King's private motor car, in which he proceeded to Rome. His progress was slow because of the thousands of Fascisti soldiers marching to Rome, encumbering the roads and constantly stopping the leader's car to greet him with acclamations. On arriving in the Eternal City, Mussolini, wearing a soiled black shirt and bearing obvious traces of his long journey in an open motor car, went to the Quirinal Palace and was immediately ushered into the King's presence. A half hour's earnest conversation ensued, interrupted at frequent intervals by the frenzied cheers of a huge throng which had gathered under the windows of the palace. The King was obliged to show himself three times on the balcony, and receive the crowd's thunderous applause. After the interview Mussolini drove to his hotel. Several thousands in the square before the hotel were kept in check by Fascisti and Government police. Mussolini appeared at a window and addressed the people in loud, clear accents, saying: "Today Italy has not only a Cabinet, but a Government, a strong Government, such as she has needed for many years past, but never obtained." A stormy scene of unrestrained jubilation followed.

Mussolini had already decided on his Cabinet, and the list was immediately published. The new Cabinet was not com-

posed entirely of Fascisti, and even included some formerly pronounced opposers of Fascismo. It was made up of seven Fascisti, five Nationalists, one Democrat and one member of the Popular, or Catholic Party. The intention to form a Cabinet representing all groups in the Chamber, with the Fascisti in control, was obvious. Only one member of the Facta Cabinet—Senator Count Theophile Rossi—was retained. The most notable figures in the new Cabinet were General Diaz, the

“Duke of Victory” who led the Italian army in its last glorious offensive against the Austrians, and Admiral Count Thaon noted for his advocacy of Italian supremacy in the Adriatic. The majority were new and untried men. The fact that Mussolini reserved for himself the portfolios of both the Minister of the Interior and Minister of Foreign Affairs was eloquent of his purpose to control both the domestic and foreign policy of the nation. The Cabinet was thus composed:



(P. & A. Photos)

Entry of the Fascisti into Milan where they expelled the Communists from the City Government

BENITO MUSSOLINI, Premier, Minister of the Interior and of Foreign Affairs (Fascista).
 General ARMANDO DIAZ, Minister of War.
 Vice Admiral THAON DI REVEL, Minister of Marine.
 Professor LUIGI EINAUDI, Minister of the Treasury (Nationalist).
 THEOPHILE ROSSI, Minister of Industry (Nationalist).
 Signor DE STEFANI, Minister of Finance (Fascista).
 LUIGI FEDERZONI, Minister of the Colonies (Nationalist).
 Signor GIURIATI, Minister of Liberated Regions (Fascista).
 ALDO OVIGLIO, Minister of Justice (Fascista).
 Signor GENTILO, Minister of Education (Democrat).
 LUIGI CAPITANIO, Minister of Agriculture (Fascista).
 Signor CARNAZZA, Minister of Public Works (Nationalist).
 Signor DI CESARA, Minister of Posts and Telegrams (Nationalist).
 STEFANO CAVAZZONI, Minister of Social Welfare (Catholic).

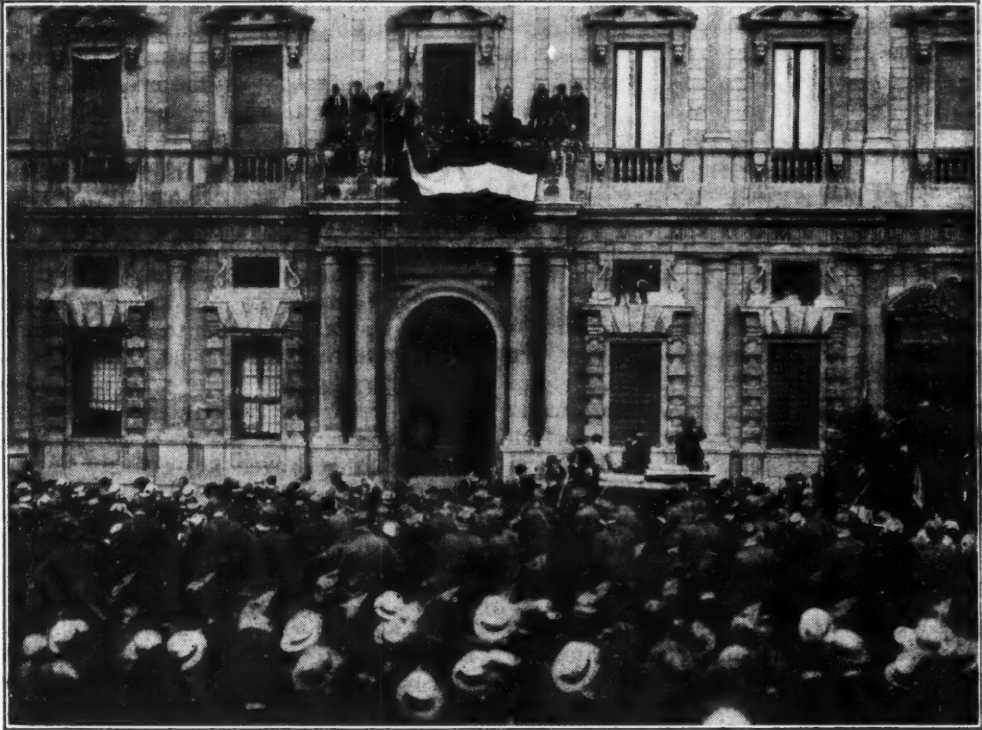
Four Fascisti, and one Democrat were appointed sub-Secretaries.

The spectacle of some 90,000 black-shirted, armed Fascisti marching, converging from various points on Rome, was an inspiring one to the Roman population, who flocked to the gates of the city at an early hour to gain the first glimpse of the moving cohorts. Thousands and thousands of youth marching in military formation, four abreast, the unbroken blackness of their shirts relieved by the flash of bayonets, no ragged mob, but a disciplined army supplied with commissariat and medical stores and carrying machine guns on lorries, brought to the Romans their first realization of what would have happened had the Government refused to yield. Almost every class of the Italian population was represented. As they came in sight of the gates of the city each raised his extended right arm after the ancient Roman manner, while the wild Fascista cry, "A la la!" rose tense and thrilling on the air. All Rome was beflagged and the walls were placarded with Fascista proclamations.

Mussolini soon gave evidence of his driving spirit. Only two days after he took power he presented to his Cabinet and forced through the main lines of his policy (Nov. 2). The Cabinet conference did not break up until 2:30 in the morning. Mussolini refused to talk to the journalists,

but it was made known that the discussion had centred about internal policy, especially the balancing of the State budget through rigid bureaucratic economy and a more efficient method of collecting taxes. Five major and several minor reforms were envisaged. The Ministers were asked by the Premier to draw up a report on all possible reforms in their respective departments by Nov. 10. The whole program was to be presented to the Parliament when it convened on Nov. 16. Mussolini told his Cabinet that the alarm caused abroad by the Fascista revolution was already subsiding. His severe telegram to Count Sforza, Italian Ambassador to Paris, who precipitately resigned on hearing of the overturn in Rome, was approved by the Cabinet. In this telegram Mussolini ordered Count Sforza to remain at his post until he was recalled. Count Sforza was recalled soon after, and returned to Rome. Other Ambassadors were replaced in the various capitals. An excellent impression was produced throughout the country by Mussolini's decree that Nov. 4, the anniversary of the great Italian victory in the World War, should be publicly commemorated.

Contrary to the general belief that Mussolini would retain his powerful army concentrated around Rome, it was announced on Nov. 3 that these forces, estimated at 117,000, were being demobilized, and that many have returned or were returning home. The Government statement said that the Fascisti were "observing most praiseworthy discipline and perfect order." Normal order was being restored throughout all the provinces. The proclamation of the celebration of Nov. 4 called on the nation "to adapt itself to the hard necessities of the moment," and declared that "the Government understands how to govern, and will govern. All its energies will be directed to the maintenance of internal peace and increasing Italy's prestige abroad." "Only by work, discipline and concord," the statement concluded, "will the fatherland emerge from the present crisis to tread the path of prosperity and greatness." Mussolini at this time visited all the foreign Ambassadors in Rome. He was setting the nation an example by working



(Underwood & Underwood)

The Fascisti, after ejecting the Communist element in the City Government of Milan, handing over the City Hall to the authorities

fifteen hours a day and exacting that his Ministers do the same.

Nov. 4 came and went to the booming of great guns commemorating the victory of Vittoria Veneto. The King laid a wreath on the tomb of Italy's Unknown Soldier in the Piazza Venezia. The nameless hero is buried beneath what is called "The Altar of the Country" on the Victor Emmanuel Monument. Both the King and the vast throng below reverently knelt in prayer while the church bells tolled. A special high mass was celebrated in the Church of Santa Maria degli Angeli, reconstructed by Michael Angelo from the fourth century baths of Diocletian. The church was crowded with some 12,000 people. While mass was sung by the best choirs in Rome the cannon boomed from the height of Montemario.

With this commemoration the governmental crisis may be said to have reached its logical close. The Fascisti movement,

which arose soon after the close of the World War, imbued with the object to nationalize the annexed areas and to occupy Fiume, which then turned its growing power against the Socialists, after the spectacular coup of the Laborites in 1920 in seizing the factories, and finally waged what was virtually a civil war against all who desired to Sovietize Italy, has ascended like a steadily rising and irresistible tide to the supreme power. What will it do with that power? It is still too early to say. Many difficulties face it. It is clear that Parliament will yield to its measures of financial and economic reform. The success of its electoral reforms, designed to take politics out of the hands of ambitious and unscrupulous politicians through a change in the electoral law, may meet with more resistance. The labor element in Fascismo has a definite program. The international political situation is complex, and these problems must be met by Mussolini, who has as

sumed full control. Italian expansion in the Mediterranean was stated by Mussolini himself, at a Fascisti convention in Emilia, to be one of the guiding principles of the party. His backing of Great Britain in its desire to postpone the Lausanne conference, and his confirmation of the act of his predecessor in refusing to acknowledge the Dodecanese treaty with Greece because of the nullification of the Sèvres treaty, give some evidence of what the attitude of his Government will be as regards the situation in the Near East. A rectification of certain provisions of the Treaty of Rapallo with Yugoslavia is also said to be on the Fascisti program. Danger lies ahead, both in respect to foreign policy and domestic policy. The Fascisti promise no immediate millenium, preach

hard work and sacrifice, and show themselves willing to risk popularity by drastic reforms. Many Governmental employes will be dismissed. On the other hand, all Italy is imbued with a new spirit, the spirit of idealism and new enthusiasm which bore Mussolini to power, and which may keep him there. This former teacher of French in a secondary school, this veteran of the World War, in which he won many honorable wounds, this young man of thirty-seven who had the brains, the genius and the vision to arm the whole of Italy to achieve what he believes to be the welfare of Italy, and who now holds in his hands the supreme power of the Italian State, from his own words, faces confidently and even aggressively the unknown future.

UNITY OF INDIAN MOHAMMEDANS

NEWS of the Turkish victory over the Greeks in Asia Minor was naturally celebrated by Indian Mohammedans, or the large majority division of Sunnis, at any rate, as an Islamic triumph. Little has been heard of the attitude of the minority Shiah Mohammedans in India, but inasmuch as this minority, like the Persians, has been at religious variance, and often on terms of bitter enmity, with the Turks, as well as with all other Sunnis, it may be expected to hold a somewhat different viewpoint.

It was chiefly, in fact, upon another Caliphate question that the parent stem of Islam was split wide open. The Shiahs asserted that Ali was the second, instead of the fourth, successor of Mohammed. The Sunnis took exactly the reverse attitude. Over this disputed dogma, at every Feast of the Mohurrum in India, such an acute religious frenzy was aroused that the British had great difficulty in preventing bloodshed, especially in the few places where the two sects happen to be about evenly matched. At Moorshedabad the pensioned royal family are Shiahs. At one period, during the reigns of the Mogul Emperors Akbar the Great, Jehangir and Shah Jehan, Persian influence became dominant in the customs, literature and art of the Court, and with this went a religious

toleration due chiefly to Akbar, though in some measure also to the rise to high official dignity of the family of Ghyas Beg. This Persian adventurer was a Shiah, and it was his daughter who became the all-powerful and capable Empress Nur Jehan, whose enlightened policy did much to benefit the whole people. With the accession of the fanatical Emperor Aurangzeb, however, a Sunni religious reaction set in, directed toward Hindu subjugation and persecution. This lasted during the fifty years of Aurangzeb's long reign, and was the real cause of the downfall of the Mogul Empire, although this fall was accelerated by the rise of the new Sikh and Maratha powers.

Present indications rather point to a sinking of the religious feud by both Sunnis and Shiahs in a common Islamic cause. Thus, at a meeting of the Mussulman members of the Council of State and Legislative Assembly on Sept. 12, 1922, unity was apparent in the message sent to Premier Lloyd George, declaring the vital necessity of Great Britain's observing strict neutrality as between the Turks and Greeks in the present conflict, and earnestly appealing to the Government "to avail of this opportunity to restore Anglo-Turkish friendship, effecting a reunion between the British and the Moslem world."

AMERICA AGAIN DEFENSELESS

By HERBERT B. MAYER

First Lieutenant, Sixteenth Infantry,
United States Army

Why the reduction of the United States Army to 125,000 men means an effective army of only 25,000 men—The saving only \$13,500,000, the cost \$34,500,000—The nation powerless

THE United States today is less prepared for war than in 1917. Were we to engage at this time in armed conflict with any first-class power we should be forced to repeat the turmoil, mad haste and ill-considered extravagance which marked our entry into the World War. Consideration of the costliness of our late effort, the burden of gripping taxes resulting therefrom, and the terrific toll taken unnecessarily in lives and money, brings us face to face with the gravity of the present situation, which has been brought about by Congress in the face of repeated warnings from the chiefs of the army and navy.

The navy, our first line of defense, is on short rations of pay, fuel and personnel, and, indeed, so great has been the economy from which our sister service has suffered that recently, when distinguished visitors reached New York City, the main battle fleet had to be robbed of men in order to furnish crews for the escorting destroyers. But, bad as conditions are in the navy, those in the regular army are infinitely worse. So far as a combat force is concerned, we have nothing left except a half-demoralized and utterly disheartened force of little over 25,000 men—a force only about twice the size of the New York police force, and almost laughably inadequate to engage in a single modern battle.

On paper, it is true, Congress has limited the army to 125,000 men. But this limitation fails to take into account the military axiom that five men behind the lines are required to get one soldier into

battle. The overhead of an army in modern times, like the overhead of any other large enterprise, is tremendous. An army has become a vast and extremely technical machine, requiring thousands of men to engage in the subsidiary functions that must be performed before combat troops can be furnished for action.

The army must maintain its Quartermaster Corps, with thousands of officers and men performing duties incidental to food, pay, equipment and clothing. It must maintain the Ordnance Corps, which provides weapons and munitions. It must maintain the Motor Transport Corps, the Medical Corps, the Sanitary Corps, the Signal Corps and half a dozen other special, vital services, including the Chemical Warfare Service. In addition to these is the Aviation Corps, in which two hundred men are needed for the repair and upkeep of four planes; the Engineer Corps, whose part it is to take care of construction, and the Coast Artillery Corps, to whose reduced personnel falls the almost impossible lot of keeping in order the coast defenses of the nation.

AN ARMY OF 25,000 MEN

Deducting this overhead leaves a mobile force of not more than 25,000 infantry, cavalry and field artillery. Of this force 5,000 are in the Philippine Islands. In Porto Rico there are two reduced-strength regiments of infantry. In Germany there is a skeleton force of less than 1,000 men. In Hawaii there are about 3,000 men, and in Alaska, only seventy-five miles from Siberia, where large Japanese armies are in

control, we have one lost battalion of infantry—about 300 strong.

So far as the United States itself is concerned, the regular army has practically vanished. In the latter part of 1917 we had five divisions of regulars, with two more forming. We now have one complete division, the Second, which, with about 10,000 men all told, is on the Mexican border. The First Division, the ghost of its gallant self, is stationed in and around New York. Regiments average less than 600 rifles, battalions are the size of war-strength platoons, and a company with forty men and one officer available for duty is considered exceptionally large. There should be three officers and eighty men in every company. Except for a few scattered organizations, skeletonized and reduced to mere shadows, this is all of the combat part of the regular army which Congress has left.

How far Congress has gone toward the destruction of the army is indicated by the state of the defenses of New York. I bare no military secret when I say that New York could be captured easily today by any enemy fleet which got past our navy. Sandy Hook is the main defense of New York City, and yet at Sandy Hook a reduced, economized and Congressionally harried army is able to furnish just 300 Coast Artillerymen—a force sufficient to man and operate only two of the great guns emplaced there, as each gun requires practically 100 men, and the overhead—mine laying, collection of data, and so forth—requires 100 more. The secondary defenses of Forts Wadsworth and Hamilton have been abandoned because there is no Coast Artillery personnel to operate them. One man of the Coast Artillery is assigned to each battery of four guns, to oil, clean and maintain them so far as possible. In case of a sudden attack, four modern cruisers could wipe out the tiny garrison of Sandy Hook with one salvo, and New York, with loot beyond the wildest dreams in its confines, would be open to the conquerors—the result of Congressional meddling with the national defenses of the nation.

The Army and Navy Journal, which is thoroughly conversant with present conditions, sums up the situation bitingly:

In other words, Congress has already reduced our navy below the point set by the treaties, which the other powers have not yet carried out, and probably will not carry out. Not content with this, a small group proposes virtually to cripple what is, and must remain, our first line of defense.

Due to the reductions which have already taken place in the size of the regular army, this important force was unable, during the last Summer, to carry out properly the missions assigned it by the amended National Defense act—the only military policy which the United States has ever possessed. It was not numerous enough to give the proper aid in training the National Guard and reserve forces and at the same time have its own personnel undergo the training which is essential if this force is to be efficient and at the same time qualified to act as instructors of the Guardsmen and Reservists.

THE LEADERS IN REDUCTION

The Congressional leaders who have brought about the present pitiful condition of the army are Representative Madden of Illinois and Representative Anthony of Kansas. Anthony, thoroughly aware of the flood of criticism which followed his most recent efforts, has shown a disposition to abate his own attack upon the army, but Representative Madden, according to reports in service journals, is preparing a further onslaught upon the army at the opening of Congress. Indeed, it is charged that a secret plan has been formed to reduce the army to 100,000 men. If this is done, there will be no fighting army left.

Mr. Anthony's activities have strongly affected personnel. Taking advantage of a new system of rules in the House, the Committee on Appropriations, led by Anthony, cut down the size of the army by 2,500 officers and 25,000 enlisted men. In the past, army legislation has been left to the Committee on Military Affairs, whose members have kept at least reasonably abreast with the needs and conditions of the service. Although he stated that the object of his legislation was economy, there has seldom been framed a more extravagant measure than the one for army reduction submitted by Mr. Anthony, if one may judge by figures that have been published. Indeed, after publicly admitting that he had not known the full effect of the legislation for which he had fought so bitterly, against the advice of the army press and staff, Mr. Anthony placed him-

self in a unique position by coming forward with an amendment to his own measure reducing the number of officers to be discharged to about 1,800. His new position followed a storm of resentment, part of which overwhelmed in defeat one of his strongest supporters, Mr. Sisson of Mississippi. In voicing his motion in behalf of the amendment, Mr. Anthony made the astounding announcement that he had thought that the first measure which he fought for would bring about the elimination of only 1,000 officers.

Save for his own statement, it would be sufficient to convince students of current politics that any responsible legislator could frame so important legislation without being fully cognizant of what it was all about!

REDUCTION COST \$34,500,000

Although the reduction of officers is now about 1,800, the extravagance of the measure and its evils remain in full evidence. Besides wrecking the morale of the army officers, it will cost the nation, as nearly as can be figured out at this time, the enormous sum of \$34,500,000 before a single penny can be saved.

How is this great cost figured? In the first place, every officer who secured his commission from West Point has cost the Government at least \$10,000 to train. Other officers—men from the ranks or civilian life—have cost at least \$5,000 each. Expensive? Surely. But armies need officers, and officers without training are only men wearing uniforms and insignia, and dangerous both to themselves and to their men. If we figure that of the 1,800 officers to be discharged one-third, or 600, are graduates of West Point, we find that this one item alone, at \$10,000 per officer, has cost the Government \$6,000,000. The same process for the other class of officers—1,200 times \$5,000, the individual cost of training—gives us \$6,000,000 more to add to expense, or a total of \$12,000,000 for lost training investment.

The average pay of the army officer—from which he buys all his food and clothing, and pays all his other expenses—is \$2,500, or \$100 a year less than that of

a New York policeman. Mr. Anthony's legislation, adopted as the Army Appropriations act, provides that each officer of less than ten years' service shall on discharge receive a full year's pay in one lump sum as financial salve for the wrecking of his life's career and profession. It also provides that officers of more than ten years' service shall draw for their lifetime a pension fixed on the basis of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. a year for each year of service. There will be about 600 officers discharged with one year's pay. There will be about 1,200 discharged on life pensions, with a life expectancy of twenty years for the retired officers. The first-mentioned reduction represents a loss of \$1,500,000, multiplying 600—the number of officers to be discharged with one year's pay—by \$2,500, the average rate of pay.

The second category means a loss of \$21,000,000 more in the case of officers retired with more than ten years' service. This figure is reached by considering the average service of officers of this class to be fourteen years, which would give them 35 per cent. of their base pay for life, or—with the average at \$2,500—\$875 each per annum. Multiplying \$875 by 20—the life expectancy—we find that each officer in the twenty years of his retirement will draw at least \$17,500 from the Government for doing nothing, and, further, that the total of their pensions—multiplying \$17,500 by 1,200, the number of officers concerned—gives us the total stated above—\$21,000,000.

In order to gain the full perspective of Mr. Anthony's conception of economy, let us tabulate the figures:

To lost cost of training officers.....	\$12,000,000
To 1 year's pay for 600 officers.....	1,500,000
To 20 years' pension for 600 officers	
at \$17,500 each	21,000,000

Total investment for "economy".....\$34,500,000

Now let us consider all the possibilities of saving under the Anthony plan. In the very same legislation which provides for the elimination of 1,800 experienced officers, nearly all of them war veterans, is contained a provision for the appointment of 1,700 Second Lieutenants—all young men with little or no experience. Each of them is to be paid \$1,500—the pay of a second-class apartment house janitor.

Upon the basis of reasonable expectancy of promotion, in five years each of these young men—considering with this the promotion and increased pay of their seniors—will be so far up the list that the average pay of \$2,500 for each officer will not be reduced. In other words, though the individual may draw less, the average pay will be the same. Consequently, we can consider the difference in their pay as a saving for only five years, and the only permanent saving in the legislation is for 100 officers—the net difference between the number discharged and the number appointed, i. e., 1,800 and 1,700.

In reckoning \$1,000 a year as the saving for five years for each new Lieutenant, we find \$5,000 saved in each case; or, multiplying this sum by 1,700—the number of officers involved—\$8,500,000 in all. For the one hundred officers whose pay is saved for twenty years we find a total of \$5,000,000, gained by multiplying 100—the number of officers—by \$2,500 (the average pay), and in turn multiplying this result, \$50,000, by 20, the average life expectancy, as tabulated:

Pay of 100 officers for 20 years.....	\$5,000,000
Difference of \$1,000 each in pay for	
1,700 new officers for 5 years.....	8,500,000

Total	\$13,500,000
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The comparison of this saving with the expense involved under the Anthony project—a total of \$34,500,000—is eloquent, and remains eloquent even if the \$12,000,000 reckoned for the cost of training is excluded.

THE "ECONOMY" OF UNPREPAREDNESS

The army costs only \$300,000,000 a year, or less than \$3 per capita. In order to gain a favorable background for the economy proceedings, a smoke screen of propaganda preceded the attack upon the army, and the specious means of lumping together the current costs of the army and the costs of past wars was used to alarm the public over the alleged cost of maintaining an army. The cost of all our wars has been due very largely to just such economies as these—the "economy" of unpreparedness, which means unending extravagance when an emergency comes.

But the army's cost is more or less a fixed cost. At best, economies at the ex-

pense of the army can save only a million here and a million there—minor drops of economy in the great national expenditures. Those familiar with the plan of national defense, and the function of the regular army therein, know that the savings achieved can only be trifling; that no large sums can be gained by them. Consequently, in seeking for the answer to the riddle of Congressional interest in army economy, one moves straight to a fact composed of two elements: First, the army has no vote, and, being voteless, cannot dissent from the futile economy which can be used so effectively as an election argument "back home"; second, as a nation, we know nothing about the army and—in time of peace—care less. But if good-will constitutes an asset in any business—and it does—if morale counts for anything—and it is the base of all armies—then the small economies of the pacifists and anti-army people in Congress, besides being a hardship to officers and men alike, are actually gross expenses in themselves.

How great a loss has been suffered in morale is indicated by the plucking of the 1,800 officers. Most of these men have served loyally and faithfully for years, in peace and in war. Few of them have any qualifications for outside business, yet under the Anthony legislation their livelihood is taken away. If an architect loses his business he may find an employer; a bookkeeper may go with another firm; an army officer, however, has only one prospect of employment for his professional knowledge and experience—the army of his Government. How unjust is the plucking of these officers is indicated by the fact that the War Department publicly stated that in the Officers' Corps of 12,000 only 300 officers could be found who either mentally, morally or physically were below the standard—a high tribute to the 1,200 experienced and capable officers whom Mr. Anthony and his associates have thrust from the service to which they had been trained to devote their lives. For weeks every officer of the army has been under the shadow of the sword—no man has known what day he might not be informed his services would be no longer required.

The War Department, Secretary Weeks,

General Pershing and Major Gen. Harbord have fought hard for the officers concerned, and have endeavored to prevent any stigma attaching to severance from the service. By their objections they caused the defeat of an intended provision which would have termed the discharge of these officers as "for the good of the service"—a phrase previously reserved for elimination of officers by resignation to escape charges for disgraceful conduct! The War Department has announced that all these discharges are honorable, that no possible stigma or reflection upon the officers concerned may hold, and has requested all plucked officers to accept commissions in the National Guard or Reserve, so that their training may be available to the Government—without pay. As an indication of the calibre of the men involved in Mr. Anthony's destructive legislation, it is reported that nearly 90 per cent. of the officers have signified their compliance with this wish.

The pittance of \$875 a year, although amounting to much in the aggregate, means little to the individual. The year's pay in the case of officers of less than ten years' service will soon be exhausted. These men are trained for the army, and only for the army, and none of their experience and education for the service is valuable in civilian life. With their careers ruined, is it not a tribute to their devotion to the nation which scorns them that until the next emergency comes—in the midst of the mess which will most certainly ensue as a result of "economies"—their services and their swords will, as before, be ready?

The War Department says no stigma is involved, and yet a stigma is inevitable—even in the case of officers like myself who applied for discharge voluntarily. It is human nature to endeavor to seek causes. When an officer has received notice that he is to take his leave and prepare for discharge, his messmates naturally inquire how he came to be plucked.

"Jones got his, eh? Queer? I didn't know there was anything wrong with him. What's he been up to?"

In nine cases out of ten Jones has been in no trouble. His selection is just his hard luck; there may be any one of a thou-

sand reasons for it. The hard fact remains, however, that Jones is selected to go, and quite naturally—although the inquirers know there can be no answer—there is the distinct tendency to ask "Why?"

Mr. Anthony's blunder in his first legislation has further complicated even the ruthlessness of these proceedings. Under the terms of the first legislation 2,500 officers were notified of their approaching discharge. When he secured his belated amendment some 700 of these, who had already prepared for discharge, and in some cases had rented apartments, secured positions and bought large civilian outfits, were informed that the proceedings in their cases were revoked, and were ordered back to duty!

A demoralized officers' corps has responded to the efforts of the anti-army people in Congress. The officers who have gone out, however, are the victims of futile and unnecessary economies, for the army, costing less than \$3 per capita, is the most economical protective force in the country. The average police force costs \$7 per capita, and the average fire department \$8, but both of these forces contain votes! The army doesn't.

FATE OF ENLISTED MEN

What has been done to the officers is only a small part of the whole. The condition of the enlisted men is pathetic. The pay of the private has been reduced from \$30 to \$21 per month. The value of the ration—the provision for three meals a day for one man—has been set at 25 cents. There is no money for manoeuvres. There is so little money for lighting that squad rooms containing forty men can use only one electric bulb. There is no provision for transportation—officers must pay their own way and men must walk. There has been no promotion of enlisted men in the army for a year—privates have had to serve as Corporals and Sergeants, drawing only their private's pay. These conditions were brought about by the reduction in appropriation which caused the reduction of the personnel from 200,000 to 150,000.

Just what conditions the Anthony legislation will bring about has not fully developed. Enough has been developed to show the great loss of morale. In the case

of non-commissioned officers, who form the backbone of the service, conditions could not be worse. On account of the reductions of the force hundreds of these—many of them married and with children—must be reduced to the ranks. Most of these men have served with the colors since boyhood—in the Philippines, in China, in Cuba and in the World War. The army has not enough places for all of them. For months the War Department and their commanding officers have been trying to place them. All commanding officers have been instructed to fill all places possible in the tables of organization with these non-commissioned officers, and to report the surplus for placing or reduction. Facing the dropping of income of her soldier to \$21 a month at the fullness of his life, the wife of the non-commissioned officer in many instances is taking in washing from the civilian who had sense enough to go out and make as much as \$30 a day in building the rotting cantonments which now house herself, her husband and her children.

Before the war, troops on changing station were moved about in day coaches, or, if the trip involved overnight travel, were moved in tourist sleepers. It was realized then that, as these men intended to be soldiers their whole lives long, the army must make them comfortable in order to keep them when their enlistments expired. Now all troop movements are made on foot, because Congress limits the mileage allowance for the army to an inadequate sum, while at the same time it cannily provides 25 cents a mile as just compensation for a Congressman on jaunting parties or on travel anywhere on "official business." (Army officers get 8 cents a mile, and make money on it as a rule; that is, when any mileage is available, so that they do not have to pay their own way.)

I had the honor to command Company K, Sixteenth Infantry, First Division, one of the oldest companies in a regiment which has existed from 1789, a regiment which has engaged in more than 200 battles for this country. My company—a ghost of a company, a shadow of a military organization—numbered thirty men, a typical modern regular army company in these days. The cost of their transpor-

tation by rail from Camp Dix would have been \$77.40, figured at \$2.58 for each individual fare. The trip could have been accomplished to Fort Wadsworth, the present station, in two hours and a half. On this trip, which could have been made for \$77.40 by train, we expended not less than five times that sum by marching! The cost of the average army shoe is \$4. We ruined fifteen pairs—for this item alone a value of \$60! On account of the necessity for buying food for the mess on the road, I spent from the company fund exactly \$80 more on this extra item of expense. Our share of expense for camp site rental was \$2.50 a night, or \$10 in all. Counting extra forage for the animals and wear and tear on equipment, the average cost per company for the four-and-a-half-day march was figured at about \$400 per company, or \$2,000 for a skeleton battalion—this including, however, all fixed charges, such as pay, gasoline, rations and so forth, of which, say, \$1,000 would have been spent anyway. To be just, we may figure the actual cost conservatively at \$250 for each of the four companies—\$250, where \$77.40 provided in transportation would have sufficed.

ARMY NOW IMPOTENT

The function of the regular army is based on economy. Left alone, provided with \$300,000,000 a year which it requires, the regular army would be able to carry out its mission, train itself and furnish an efficient force ready for instant use, and would also equip and train the organized reserve and National Guard—these being its functions under the National Defense act, with which we emerged from the World War, and which Congress has now nearly wrecked. To train the citizen army, which must be *the* army in wartime, professional officers and soldiers are needed. Officers and soldiers of the regular establishment, indeed, are now on duty with the organized reserve and the National Guard, and at all schools and colleges that maintain reserve units. In addition to these, hundreds of officers and men are required for school and training duty for the regulars. The regular army is no longer able to fulfill these functions. The time has arrived for Congress, in the

words of Secretary of War Weeks, to "state anew the mission of the regular army."

Congress, in other words, must state what it expects to accomplish in a military way from a force of 25,000 men against any modern power. Such a force might succeed in getting through the lines of an armed enemy, but what would happen afterward? Perhaps an active police force might jail them and put them to hard labor—they could offer no effective resistance against such a plan.

It is not my intention to join the ranks of the jingoes, but solely as one of a dozen military problems that might be considered, I should like to weigh the effect of a conflict between ourselves and Japan—a most unlikely prospect, but nevertheless one that may be considered with propriety as an academic matter, taking into account only the strategic situation as it exists. Japan, for example, has held, and even after the Japanese evacuation has been completed, will hold a part of Siberia (Saghalien). Siberia is just seventy-five miles from Alaska across Bering Strait—navigable for three months in Summer. The distance from Alaska to San Francisco is half that from San Francisco to Japan. If the Japanese armies in Siberia had embarked and captured Alaska from the skeletonized battalion of 300 regulars, this would have effected a reduction of the submarine distance by half.

In the event of war, Japan could seize the Philippines without great difficulty. From then on, with the Philippines in her possession, her strategy would be absurdly simple. We would have to recover the Philippines to save our national pride. Our navy would be first dispatched against the enemy. It would do its fighting 4,000 miles from home, and would reach the scene of the encounter with fouled bottoms and low coal supply. In whose favor, under these conditions, would be the chances of battle?

If our ships gained a victory, our problem would be no less serious. A huge land force would be required to displace the invaders of the islands. This would mean great troop convoys to move over a line 4,000 miles long—the longest line of communication the world will have known

except that of the Russo-Japanese War, which gave victory to the Japanese. Indeed, we should be in a less advantageous position than the Russians, for their line—the Transsiberian Railway—was all in their own hands, whereas ours—the water route from San Francisco to the islands—would be subject to constant menace from submarines moving down from Alaska, or even Siberia!

MENACE OF THE FUTURE

The most casual glance at the present political situation of the world gives us many strong arguments against a system of economy which has taken away the numbers and morale of the main land defenses of the nation—a system of economy so extreme that even the forage supply of the horses and mules of the army has been cut to 60 per cent. of the amount authorized by law—a system of economy, in this case, which, in addition to arousing the indignation of the average citizen, might well call forth the critical attention of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals.

Economy such as this, when Greek and Turkey fight to the death, when thousands of slaughtered Christians justify the survivors' appeal for aid! Destruction of the army in the present state of the world! Red Russia upheaves her mighty loins, and appears anxious for conflict or for spoil. Germany apprehensively watched the mark fall ever lower, and prays against Bolshevism. England arms and gazes on unafraid. France stands ready. China glows and glimmers with internal revolution. The Balkans smolder with the hates and jealousies of centuries, and the urge of ancient wrongs that seek revenge. The shotted guns of half the world stand ready to thunder forth again.

Have we, indeed, so soon forgotten? Have we, in our comfortable sense of newly established isolation, overlooked the fact that the pistol shot of an obscure assassin in a Serbian village only so recently has cost us hundreds of thousands of lives and thousands of millions of dollars? "No more war?" Perhaps. Meanwhile, half the world stands to arms, while our comfortable and deliciously provincial strate-

gists move forward along the road which means the absolute wreckage of our main land defense—the regular army of the United States! With but 25,000 men as a mobile force, where would we be in the event of a sudden emergency today, with no allies to hold the lines and give us a comfortable year in which to get ready again in the maddest haste?

Twenty-five thousand men! No money for transportation! No money for forage for the horses! No money for light or heat! No money for real target practice or manoeuvre! No money for training, for gasoline—for anything! And this is the regular army today!

Casting aside for the moment the curtain of self-praise we have been engaged in weaving for ourselves since the armistice, let us consider the bare facts of our entry into the World War. We declared war in April, 1917. One year later the first engagement of our troops took place—the battle of Cantigny, fought by the First Division under Major Gen. R. L. Bullard. During all the time while we prepared with hysterical haste, with unbelievable waste, with loss of life that was bitterly unnecessary, our allies held the line. At that time we had a regular army of 200,000 and a National Guard of 200,000 more—most of it well trained through service on the border. And yet even with a force of 400,000 it took us a year to fight!

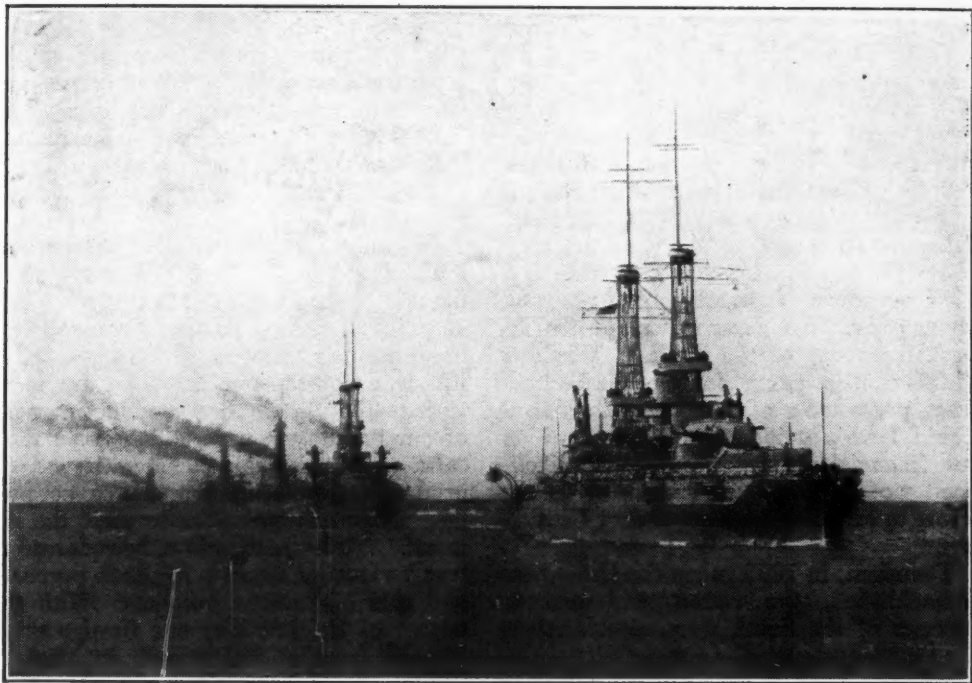
How long will it take us now with an army of 25,000, with a National Guard which is just being re-organized, and which, like the army, has suffered greatly from the pacifists and anti-army people? The organized reserve consists almost entirely of officer veterans of the World War, for whose training Congress allowed enough to permit the training of less than 500 out of 15,000 in one corps area alone.

And so Congress, led by the shining

strategists and turbulent tacticians of Podunk and Hicksville, Kansas and Illinois, have brought about a condition where it is "America again defenseless." A defenseless America which in the event of a real emergency would again have to stage those pathetically ironic spectacles termed "Preparedness Parades," in which on the last occasion marched unarmed men, women and children, waving futile little flags, while the armed legions of Germany smote our allies' lines—nearly ending the war at one blow before we were ready. Will there be such allies next time to give us a year in which to fight? Who knows? Meanwhile, had a foreign nation issued instructions that the fighting forces of this country should be cut down to a point where this country was again defenseless, the result could scarcely have been better achieved than by the creation of the present situation, in which a disheartened and demoralized army stands forth as a shining example.

A commission in the United States Army is most desirable. It is a high honor. It means employment in the service one loves. It means comradeship, travel, adventure and hard work—it means a great deal. It has cost my commission in order that I might tell this story, but if it hampers in one bit the futile bitterness of Congressmen who, without rhyme or reason, are destroying the service with unwise economies and petty, useless money restrictions, I shall be satisfied.

Meanwhile, for those of us who leave the service—volunteer and conscript pluckees alike—there is one consolation: whether the army is left alone or not, the time will come, and probably soon, when we shall be needed, and badly needed, once more—because defenseless America—the creation of Anthony, Sisson and their associates—offers a shining mark to whoever wills to move to the attack!



Battleships in line of column led by one of the largest superdreadnoughts. It is on such ships that the United States relies to protect its overseas interests

THE NAVY AS A PROTECTIVE INVESTMENT

By ADMIRAL R. E. COONTZ

United States Navy, Chief of Naval Operations

Examples and facts from recent history showing the suicidal effect of maintaining a navy only "almost big enough"—Low per capita cost of a navy adequate for security and trade promotion

HOW many individuals among the 110,000,000 people in the United States have any conception of the potential value of our navy as an investment for national protection? This investment may be considered as a form of insurance provided by the United States through the maintenance of our navy for the protection of our national sovereignty and against the loss of foreign trade. That trade in 1920 totaled \$13,250,000,000,

of which approximately one-half was in agricultural products.

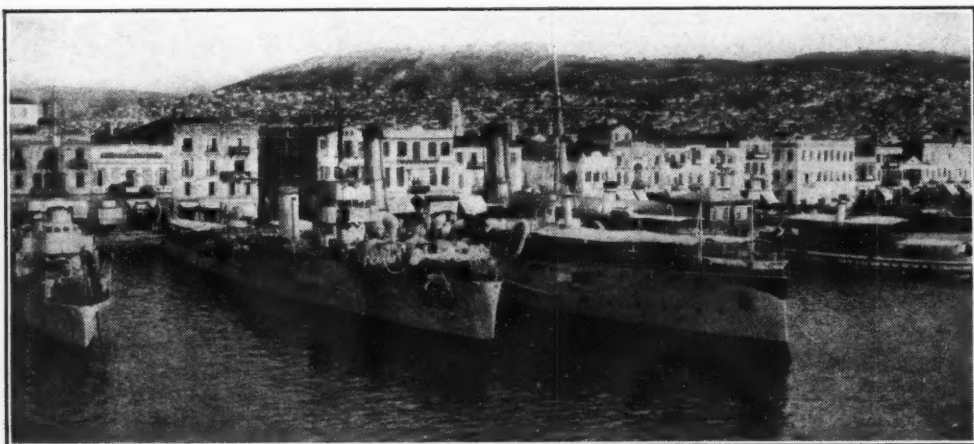
An example of the value of the navy as insurance to the nation is found in the pages of our own history of 1861. At the outbreak of the Civil War the Confederate Navy was a negligible factor, and because of this weakness the Union Navy was enabled to weave a thin chain of blockading forces around the Southern seacoast. The effect of this upon the Southern people, to

quote Jefferson Davis, was to "deprive them of every comfort and of nearly all the necessities of life, making the history of the war in the South a record of universal and unrelieved suffering. The blockade ruined the Confederate finances, and, by preventing the importation of military material, weakened the Confederate armies to the extent of thousands of men who were detailed for manufacturing and other purposes. It was the blockade, too, which caused the derangement of the internal economy of the South." Students of this conflict agree that, had the Confederacy possessed a navy of adequate size, it would have obtained foreign recognition and financial assistance, and in all likelihood would have been successful in the effort to establish an independent Government.

Therefore, in 1865, when the Union was re-established, the cotton and tobacco farmers of the South were most anxious for an adequate naval appropriation. Going further back, however, it is interesting to note that it was the farmers who demanded the appropriation which built the first regular man-of-war of the United States Navy. This was in 1794, when the Barbary Coast pirates began making serious depredations into American exports of wheat to the Mediterranean.

They would seize a ship, take her into the port of Tarifa (hence the origin of the word tariff) and levy tribute according to her value. All the nations of the world had paid this tribute for years until the little United States Navy was called into being and opened the Straits of Gibraltar to free passage.

For many years this country segregated itself economically and politically from the rest of the world, and it still maintains its political independence. Economically, however, conditions have changed. Our life is different—our demands are more varied—the distribution and occupations of our population have undergone a radical change. In certain commodities we can produce a surplus; in others we cannot produce sufficient quantities to meet the demand. We have, therefore, been forced to turn to foreign markets for both purchase and sale of various products. With the advent of the late war our foreign trade jumped from \$4,250,000,000 in 1914 to \$13,000,000,000 in 1920. Of this 1920 total, approximately one-half was composed of agricultural products coming from the Middle West and South. This post-war trade is not just a flash in the pan. There are good reasons for its existence, and better reasons for its continuance.



(Underwood & Underwood)

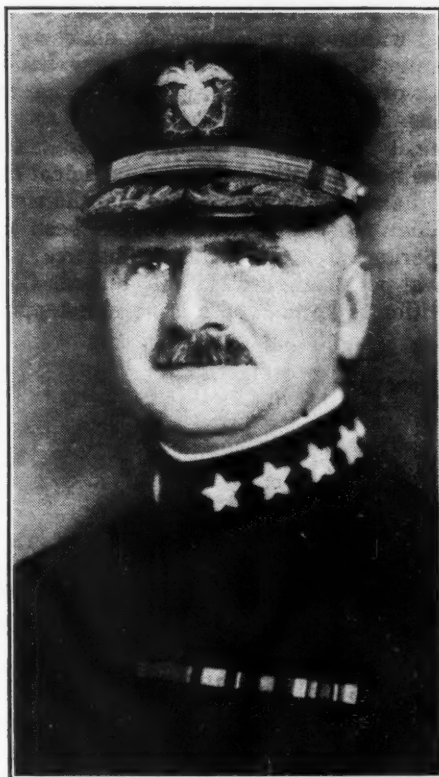
French and Italian destroyers along the waterfront at Smyrna before the recent victory of the Turkish Nationalists. The importance of American warships being present in Near Eastern waters is emphasized by the fact that American exports to Turkey (in Europe and Asia) had grown in value to \$42,200,000 in 1920

Before the outbreak of the World War American interests abroad were comparatively slight. The United States flag on merchant vessels was a total stranger to the Seven Seas. Many a time have I had the mortifying experience of going into a large foreign port to find shipping of all the world there with the exception of the United States. This country had practically no foreign banking interests or methods of giving financial backing to those of our citizens who chose to compete in foreign lines. The commercial and consular representatives, usually combined in one man, were at times indifferent, carrying on their duties perfunctorily and without the customary American energy. Those things, coupled with the fact that there was no emergency need for developing foreign commerce in order to provide this country with necessities of life, all tended to retard the development of American commerce outside of our own continental limits.

EFFECT OF THE WORLD WAR

When war broke out in 1914, however, a sudden and complete upset in these conditions was made. Germany, the greatest colonial developer in the world at that time, was bottled up by the navy of Great Britain, assisted later by a squadron of dreadnoughts of the United States. Her shipping was wiped off the seas. Her colonies, thus cut off from assistance, soon fell. Her foreign commerce, with its banking and credit system endangered, and in many instances destroyed, lapsed into insignificance. The great manufacturing centres of Europe had, in many instances, to cease the manufacture of articles for export and devote all their energies to the manufacture of munitions and equipment for the allied armies in the field. At the same time they had lost, through conscription, much of their man-power, and therefore their productive capacity had been greatly decreased.

The natural result was that all eyes turned to America for assistance in commerce. There was a constant cry for ships, ships and more ships, to carry to the allied powers the necessities which they were unable to provide for themselves. America responded to this call in a manner



ADMIRAL ROBERT E. COONTZ

now historic, and soon had a merchant fleet on the seas inferior to none.

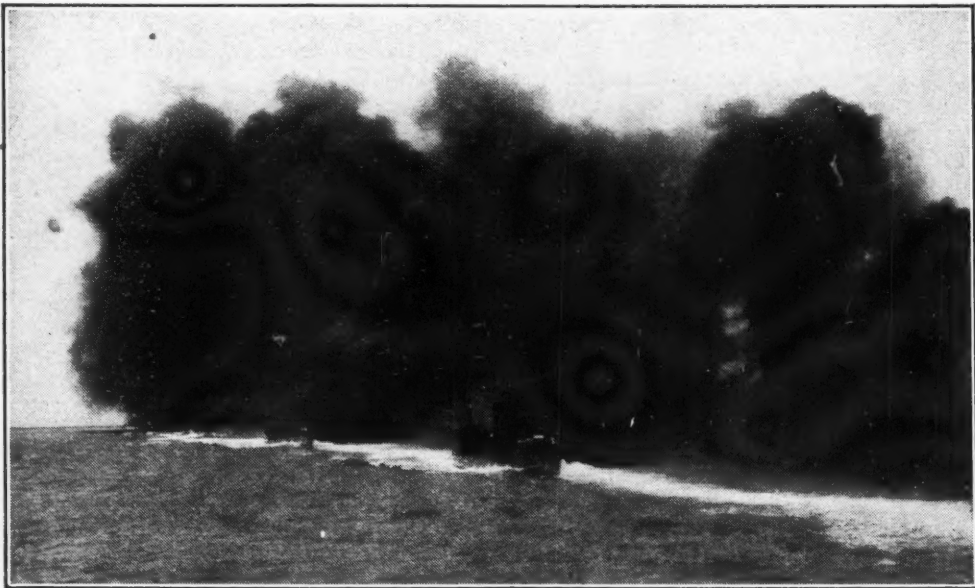
The majority of these ships were pressed into service for the carrying of staple goods to the allied countries. In most instances they came home in ballast; many, however, were devoted to the duty of providing for the needs of other countries, notably those of South America, whose supply of European products had been cut off by the emergencies of war. Our banking interests extended their systems into these countries. Live-wire commercial attachés were sent to South America and other countries to find out exactly what their citizens wanted, and to see to it that our manufacturers and farmers were notified of these needs. Thus, before the close of the World War, American products were going to all the countries in the world, and, for the first time since the days of steam, the United States had taken its place as a contender for highest honors in the game of foreign trade.

The United States cannot export or import without ships. Ships cannot carry on foreign trade without the country having first obtained the good-will of foreign nations. The good-will of foreign nations cannot be obtained if the United States does not maintain a navy of sufficient size to guarantee the sovereignty and the rights of our citizens abroad. It has been the experience of ages that commerce and naval power are indissolubly united. Competition is keen. There is no sidestepping

the indispensable necessity of a maritime force capable of giving you an absolute ascendancy in these seas. * * * You will have observed that whatever efforts are made by the land armies, *the navy must have the casting vote in the present contest.*

A DEVELOPER OF TRADE

The navy is an investment to the nation in a way other than that of protecting trade. *The navy is a developer of trade.* It was Admiral Perry who, in 1854, negotiated the first treaty with Japan and



United States destroyers laying down a smoke screen in battle practice as they would to protect merchant ships from submarine attack in time of war

the fact that commercial rivalry has many times in the past, and in the very recent past, developed into national rivalry and led to war. Any war based upon commercial rivalry is lost if, during the war, or after the war, commercial advantages abroad are nullified.

Every American statesman from 1789 to the present day has emphasized the importance of an adequate navy. During the course of events immediately preceding the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown, General Washington wrote to Count de Grasse, the Commander-in-Chief of the French Fleet, as follows:

With your Excellency I need not insist upon

opened up that country to our trade. It was an American naval officer who opened Turkey and the Near Eastern waters to American trade; that was a hundred years or more ago, and at the present time the American Navy is again the means of enlargement of American business in these same waters. In 1919 an American Admiral was ordered to the Near East as the diplomatic as well as the naval representative of this Government. With his help and the assistance of a small force of destroyers based on Constantinople, particularly in transportation and communication facilities, our commercial representatives are establishing themselves firmly in trade

which means millions of dollars to the farmers. As a result our export trade to Turkey (in Europe and Asia) had expanded from the 1914 figure of \$3,300,000 to the huge total of \$42,200,000 in 1920.

Many similar records could be cited of work done by our naval forces in Asia, where they carry the flag as far as 1,700 miles up the Yangtse River in China; of our Special Service Squadron, which protects United States interests in Central and South America and assists in promoting trade; of our Naval Governors at Guam, Samoa, the Virgin Islands and other places all over the globe. In fact, *the sun never sets on the United States Navy.*

LOW COST OF NAVAL INSURANCE

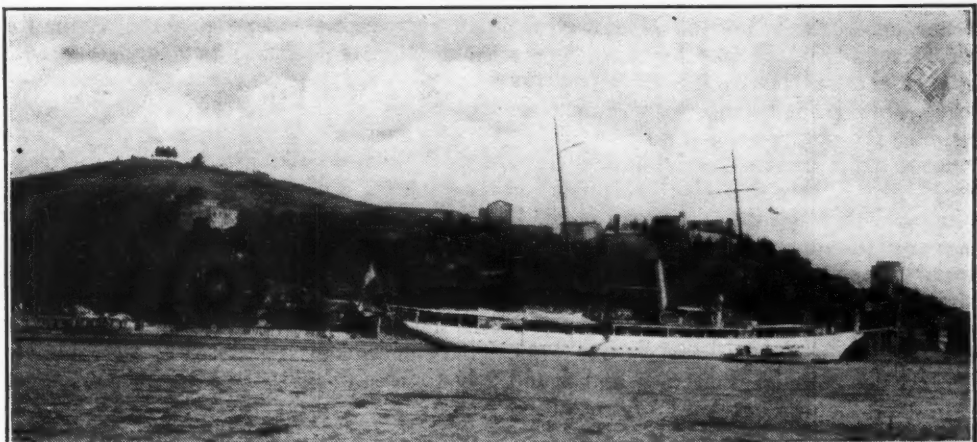
For the protection afforded by this form of insurance the farmer in Kansas or Iowa, for instance, pays a premium of only 75 cents per capita in the form of national revenues (taxes) for the maintenance of an adequate navy. Compare this national premium of 75 cents per capita with the average premium of \$31 paid during 1921 by the 42,000,000 life insurance policyholders in the United States and note that the average individual pays less than 1-40 of his life insurance premium for the national protection afforded by the maintenance of our navy. The people of the United States paid during the year 1921—in the form of annual premiums—about

\$1,462,000,000 for life insurance and \$744,000,000 for fire, marine, motor vehicle, tornado, hail and other forms of insurance. This makes a total of \$2,242,000,000, or about \$21 per capita, for the various forms of protection afforded by insurance for their homes, themselves and their business interests.

Without daily lessons illustrating its need, insurance would be a difficult thing to sell. It involves a never-ceasing, even though small, item of expenditure, and, as the days go by, with no sign upon the horizon of its need, doubt arises as to whether or not the insurance is a good investment. Then suddenly the unexpected arrives—fire, death or other calamity for which the insured is protected—and there is a prayer of thanks that arises for the insurance payment which is forthcoming. Nowadays, as all of us feel the pinch of reduced incomes, we look about for portions of our family budget which can be reduced. Many are necessarily reduced, yet the wise man does not reduce insurance below the amount needed for his protection.

HOW LARGE A NAVY IS NECESSARY

Granted that we need a navy, the next question from the investor's point of view is, What is the most economical navy that will meet our needs? Naturally no taxpayer wishes to share in the expense of



U. S. S. Scorpion, which for years has been the American station ship in Turkish waters, is here seen moored in Babek Bay, on the Bosphorus, with the buildings of Robert College on the hill above

maintenance of a navy larger than the nation requires.

After a careful study of the question from a national and impartial point of view the United States delegates to the recent conference for the limitation of armament enunciated the policy that "for national security and defense" the United States should have a navy inferior to none. This statement of policy has met with universal approval throughout the country.

At this conference a treaty was signed which established certain ratios of naval strength among the great naval powers. The adoption of this treaty, however, does not for one moment guarantee that there will be no more wars. There is no assurance that human nature, with its jealousies, its selfishness, its greed, will be changed to fit into the new order of things. Battles can be fought just as fiercely with small navies, such as provided by this treaty, as with larger ones. Therefore, if the United States is to maintain an adequate navy, the nation must maintain it at a certain standard relatively to the navies of other powers, primarily those of Great Britain and Japan.

The failure to maintain a fully adequate navy would be a very serious error. No country is justified in spending hundreds of millions of dollars upon a navy which will not be able to fulfill its mission in the event of war. The recent war gave us an excellent illustration of this fact. Germany in 1902 had come to a realization of her need for an adequate navy if she was to maintain her position in the race for the commercial supremacy of the world. She rushed work on an enormous building program costing hundreds of millions of dollars. In the meantime, however, Great Britain had also increased her navy, so that, when the war broke in 1914, Germany found herself with a navy only *almost big enough*. This navy *almost big enough* was *worthless*. The German fleet was forced by its inferiority to remain in port. Germany lost control of the seas. She lost her colonies, her trade and found herself in the stranglehold of an allied blockade that was unbreakable. Her navy that was *almost big enough* proved to be a wildcat investment. It never paid any dividends. Its stock went to zero.

The United States should take care to profit by this expensive example. No one could justify the spending of hundreds of millions annually on a navy which is not of sufficient size and efficiency to fulfill its mission in time of emergency.

Yet, strange as it may seem, this point of view was apparently not fully realized by representatives of most of the agricultural States in April, 1922, during the debate on the Navy bill. That bill, as reported to the House from the Appropriations Committee, provided for only 67,000 men. This recommendation was made primarily in the interests of economy; it was made in spite of the fact that the average proposed strength of the British Navy for the fiscal year would be approximately 104,000 men and of the Japanese Navy approximately 75,000 men. It was made in spite of the statements of the Secretary of the Navy that a minimum of 96,000 men would be necessary if this country was to maintain its position as laid down by the naval treaty. The same view was voiced by Secretary of State Hughes, who, in a letter to a member of the Foreign Affairs Committee, dated April 10, 1922, stated:

I strongly believe that it would be most injurious to the interest of the United States not to maintain fully the standard of the treaty. * * * To cut under the agreement itself would be likely to prove, I believe, an expensive experiment.

After much acrimonious debate, the President, as Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy, felt it advisable to step in as a mediator and propose a compromise figure of 86,000 men for this year.

THE PER CAPITA COST

An analysis of the vote on this amendment and of the amendment's financial aspects to the farmer is most interesting. Before considering this view, however, it may be well to glance at the broader subject of the relation of the national expenditures to the pocketbook of the farmer.

In 1920 the gross ordinary receipts of the Government amounted to approximately \$6,000,000,000, of which income and excess profits taxes totaled \$3,944,949,288, miscellaneous internal revenue taxes totaled \$1,460,082,287 and customs collections \$322,902,649 or a grand total of \$5,727,934,224 from these three sources.

Revenue of the Nation by States, With Per Capita Cost of an Adequate Navy

State.	Total Federal Taxes 1920.	Per Cent. of Total Federal Revenue.	Share of \$290,000,000 Navy Bill.	Population 1920.	Per Capita Tax for Support of the Navy.*	Per Capita Cost of Vare Amend- ment.†
Alabama	\$18,436,000	.32	\$920,000	2,348,000	.39	.04
Arizona	6,598,000	.12	330,000	334,162	.98	.10
Arkansas	12,556,000	.23	600,000	1,752,000	.34	.03
California	179,268,000	3.32	9,000,000	3,426,000	2.64	.26
Colorado	35,728,000	.66	1,800,000	939,000	1.91	.19
Connecticut	106,850,000	1.98	5,350,000	1,380,000	3.90	.39
Delaware	21,144,000	.39	1,050,000	223,000	4.70	.47
Florida	15,624,000	.29	780,000	968,470	.80	.08
Georgia	43,265,000	.80	2,160,000	2,895,000	.75	.07
Idaho	4,963,000	.09	250,000	432,000	.58	.06
Illinois	443,726,000	8.21	22,180,000	6,485,000	3.40	.34
Indiana	74,586,000	1.37	3,730,000	2,930,000	1.25	.12
Iowa	40,313,000	.75	2,020,000	2,404,000	.83	.08
Kansas	41,263,000	.76	2,060,000	1,769,000	1.15	.11
Kentucky	49,690,000	.92	2,480,000	2,416,000	1.00	.10
Louisiana	51,325,000	.95	2,560,000	1,798,000	1.42	.14
Maine	20,632,000	.38	1,030,000	768,000	1.34	.13
Maryland	81,453,000	1.51	4,070,000	1,449,000	2.75	.27
Massachusetts	352,022,000	6.52	17,610,000	3,852,000	4.60	.46
Michigan	283,296,000	5.21	14,160,000	3,668,000	3.85	.38
Minnesota	77,599,000	1.44	3,900,000	2,387,000	1.65	.16
Mississippi	11,786,000	.21	590,000	1,790,000	.33	.03
Missouri	149,493,000	2.77	7,470,000	3,404,000	2.26	.23
Montana	6,770,000	.12	340,000	548,000	.60	.06
Nebraska	25,066,000	.45	1,250,000	1,296,000	.96	.10
Nevada	1,297,000	.02	64,800	77,000	.84	.08
New Hampshire	14,709,000	.27	735,000	443,000	1.65	.16
New Jersey	155,090,000	2.87	7,750,000	3,155,000	2.47	.25
New Mexico	1,968,000	.04	98,000	360,000	.27	.03
New York	1,418,333,000	26.26	70,920,000	10,385,000	6.80	.68
North Carolina	162,667,000	3.02	8,130,000	2,559,000	3.75	.38
North Dakota	3,339,000	.06	165,000	646,000	.25	.02
Ohio	374,513,000	6.94	18,700,000	5,759,000	3.25	.32
Okalahoma	26,289,000	.49	1,310,000	2,028,000	.65	.06
Oregon	27,569,000	.51	1,380,000	783,000	1.75	.17
Pennsylvania	557,009,000	10.32	27,850,000	8,720,000	3.15	.31
Rhode Island	44,453,000	.82	2,220,000	604,000	3.70	.37
South Carolina	27,074,000	.50	1,350,000	1,683,000	.80	.08
South Dakota	6,670,000	.12	333,000	636,000	.55	.05
Tennessee	36,523,000	.68	1,820,000	2,337,000	.72	.07
Texas	105,098,000	1.95	5,250,000	4,663,000	1.10	.11
Utah	9,595,000	.18	480,000	449,000	1.05	.10
Vermont	6,700,000	.12	335,000	352,000	.95	.09
Virginia	69,751,000	1.29	3,480,000	2,309,000	1.50	.15
Washington	42,108,000	.78	2,100,000	1,356,000	1.60	.16
West Virginia	33,629,000	.62	1,680,000	1,463,000	1.24	.12
Wisconsin	93,516,000	1.73	4,670,000	2,632,000	1.78	.18
Wyoming	4,225,000	.08	240,000	194,000	1.05	.10

*Per capita cost figures are the average for the whole State. They include excess profits and corporation taxes. Average for farmers is much less than shown.

† The Vare amendment proposed an increase in naval personnel from the committee figure of 67,000 men to 86,000 men (see text).

The table just given shows the receipts of internal revenue by States, and also offers an analysis of the cost of maintenance of a \$289,000,000 navy as recently voted by Congress. In the right-hand column it shows the additional cost to the individual of providing for an adequate navy rather than for a navy *almost big enough*.

It is interesting to note that in 1920 more than 50 per cent. of the Government revenues were derived from the four States of New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts and Illinois. The sixteen States in which the urban population outnumbers the rural population provided 82 per cent. of the total national taxes. The smallest State in the Union, Rhode Island, paid more toward the support of the Federal Government than did the group of grain and cattle States composed of North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, Idaho, Utah, Wyoming, New Mexico and Nevada. *The Federal tax receipts from the State of Massachusetts were greater than the total of similar Federal revenues from all the States west of the Mississippi River, except Missouri, Texas, Minnesota and California.*

In all communities the heavy pressure of taxes upon the individual comes from the local Government, not from the National Government. The difference between an adequate navy and a navy (like Germany's in 1914) *almost big enough*, means only the price of a couple of postage stamps to the Dakota farmer, yet the export trade from these two States, in wheat, rye and pork products only, had a value of over \$80 per capita.

Washington statisticians recently prepared four maps showing the relation between the navy, the farmer and foreign trade in agricultural products. A glance at these maps reveals the fact that the States which pay the least toward the support of the navy have developed the greatest value of export trade in agricultural products. First, there is a graphic chart of the vote by States on the Vreeland amendment to increase the navy personnel to 86,000 men. It shows that the States whose Representatives in the main voted

yes were those on the Pacific Coast and those along the Atlantic from Maine to Virginia and westward as far as Indiana, while those whose Representatives voted mostly no were the ones in the middle of the Union, extending in an almost unbroken column from North Dakota, Minnesota and Wisconsin southward to Texas, Georgia and Alabama. Yet the first group just mentioned is shown by another map to be voting for a proposition that will cost its citizens more than \$1.25 per capita, while the second group is voting against a proposition that will cost its citizens less than 75 cents per capita. The States hostile to an adequate navy, as shown by a third map, have, in general, more than 65 per cent. rural population—the class that benefits most from the trade advantages of an efficient navy—while the States friendly to the proposition have less than 50 per cent. rural population. The fourth map reveals at a glance that the total value of 1920 exports of cotton, wheat, tobacco, rye and pork products went mainly to a solid tier of States stretching from North Dakota to Texas, and that each citizen of those States, on the average, got \$50 from the sale of that year's crops abroad, though voting against the size of navy needed to insure the continuance of this export trade, whereas the States which showed more friendliness to the proposition received only \$20 per capita from the 1920 exports.

The nation is dependent upon foreign trade for furnishing an outlet for its surplus agricultural products. There is not a home in the United States which does not depend in some manner upon foreign commerce. If foreign trade is to endure, it must have adequate protection in the form of a navy. The United States Navy exists as the best safeguard of national liberty and honor and the best investment for the protection of trade that can be provided. Adequate naval strength for this country has been defined by Secretary Hughes and the Limitation of Arms Conference as a navy equal to the strongest. It is a waste of money to maintain a navy insufficient for national protection.

THE WORLD TRIBUNAL IN ACTION

By RAYMOND LESLIE BUELL

The first judicial decisions of the Permanent Court of International Justice—Why The Hague Court of Arbitration did not succeed, and how the new tribunal was established—Powers of the court—United States to participate under a special plan

IN the Summer of 1922 the Permanent Court of International Justice established by the League of Nations held its first annual session. During this period it handed down three "advisory opinions," interpreting the Treaty of Versailles. These opinions are of the utmost importance, not in themselves, but because of the principle they represent. All of them relate to labor provisions.

The first case involved a dispute between the Dutch Government and the Netherlands Federation of Trades Unions over the appointment of the Dutch labor delegate to the third session of the International Labor Conference. According to the Treaty of Versailles, each member of the League of Nations may nominate four delegates to this conference; two of them to represent the Government, one the employers and one the employees. The two non-Government delegates must be approved by "the industrial organizations * * * which are most representative of employers or work people, as the case may be, in their respective countries." The Netherlands Confederation of Trades Unions is the largest labor organization in Holland, and it virtually selected the labor delegate to the first two sessions of the Labor Conference. There are, however, four other important labor organizations in Holland, and the Dutch Minister of Labor proposed that all of them should be consulted in the selection of the labor delegate. When the Netherlands Federation of Trades Unions refused to agree to this co-operative system, the Dutch Government proceeded to appoint a delegate agreed

upon by three other organizations. This appointment, the Federation charged, violated the Treaty of Versailles.

In order to settle this dispute, the Council of the League of Nations asked the Permanent Court of International Justice to give an advisory opinion, interpreting these provisions of the Treaty of Versailles. Article 59 of the statute provides that "the decision of the court has no binding force except between the parties and in respect of that particular case." Nevertheless, the decision of the court in this case would be important as a "moral" precedent, because labor organizations in Argentina, Japan and South Africa had protested against the methods followed in the selection of the labor delegates from their countries to the first International Labor Conference, and organizations in Poland, Latvia and Japan had similarly protested at the third conference.

Hearings on this question were opened by the court on June 22. On July 31 it handed down its first advisory opinion, in which it upheld the Dutch Government in the appointment of its labor delegate. The court declared that, if several labor organizations existed, no one of them, even if it had a larger membership than any one of the others, could be considered "representative," and that, therefore, the Netherlands Government had acted in good faith in consulting all of them.

The second case arose out of the attempt of the French Government to prevent the third session of the International Labor Conference from including the subject of agricultural labor in its agenda.



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ELIHU ROOT

One of the advisory committee of jurists who drafted the plans for the Permanent Court of International Justice

It was the contention of the French Government that the jurisdiction of the Labor Conference did not extend this far, because the treaty did not "make specific mention of agricultural workers." On May 12, 1922, the League Council asked the court to render an advisory opinion on this question. Three months later (Aug. 12) the court handed down a learned opinion in which it declared that the meaning of the treaty as a whole and the definition usually given to the word "industry" included agriculture, and that the competence of the International Labor Conference extended to agricultural laborers. The French and Rumanian Judges dissented.

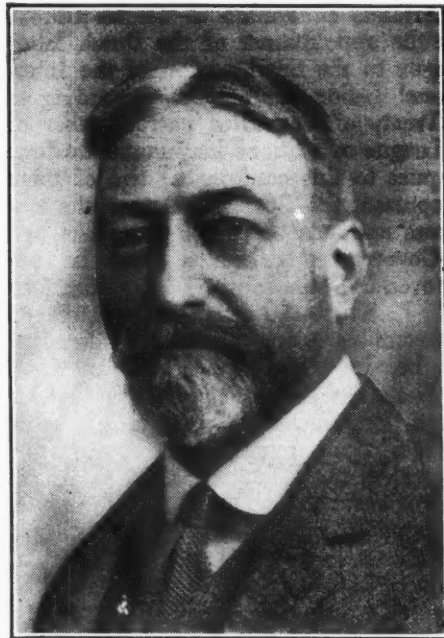
The French Government raised another question in regard to the authority of the Labor Conference, and this reference formed the basis of the court's third advisory opinion. The question was whether the labor organization had the power to discuss "proposals for the organization

and development of methods of agricultural production. * * * " (In actual fact, the Labor Office disclaimed any such power.) In answer to this question the court said, No; because there was no general and direct relationship between production and the condition of workingmen.

Such in outline are the first three decisions of this new court. They do not involve great political questions; they do not deal even with issues of vital legal interest. Nevertheless, they are important, because they form the basis of what may be a new and reinvigorated reign of international law.

THE HAGUE TRIBUNAL

What is this new Court of Justice? How did it originate? Why was it necessary? Since the time of Grotius and of Saint Simon philosophers have dreamed of the time when international disputes would be settled by courts of law. During the nineteenth century nations resorted to arbitration of disputes about one



(Photo Harris & Ewing)

JOHN BASSETT MOORE

United States Member of the Permanent Court of International Justice

hundred and seventy times. The principle of arbitration was openly recognized by The Hague Peace Conference of 1899, which created what was called a Permanent Court of Arbitration, a body strengthened by the Conference of 1907. Since its origin, this court has heard only nineteen or twenty cases, most of which have been unimportant in character. Its success has been limited for several reasons. It has been charged that The Hague Court was not a court of justice, but of compromise. Many jurists have alleged that since it was not a permanent body—Judges were chosen from a general list when the case arose—did not represent an international organization, and was merely a court of “arbitration,” it aimed rather to conciliate than to decide cases strictly according to law. Whether it be in the Casablanca affair between France and Germany, the Pious Funds case between the United States and Mexico, or the Savarakar dispute between France and Great Britain, The Hague Court has been accused of evading the responsibility of following strict legal principles in order to satisfy both parties to the dispute. Such accusations have been resented by a member of the old and the new court at The Hague, Professor John Bassett Moore of Columbia University. In an address last Spring he declared, “I do not think that The Hague Court is open to the criticism that has often lightly been made of it, that the tribunals organized out of its membership have been given to the making of compromises instead of to the deliverance of judicial judgment. I do not agree with the view of international arbitration that seems to be more or less current, that arbitration does not consist in the judicial settlement of international disputes, but in the making of diplomatic compromises for their adjustment. This never has been the conception of international arbitration in international law.”

Regardless of the justice or the injustice of this criticism, The Hague Court has not been successful in building up a real body of international law, because it has had no permanent Judges. The idea of State equality—so dear to international law—led each nation, regardless of its size, to insist on the right to select Judges for the court. The only means by which this

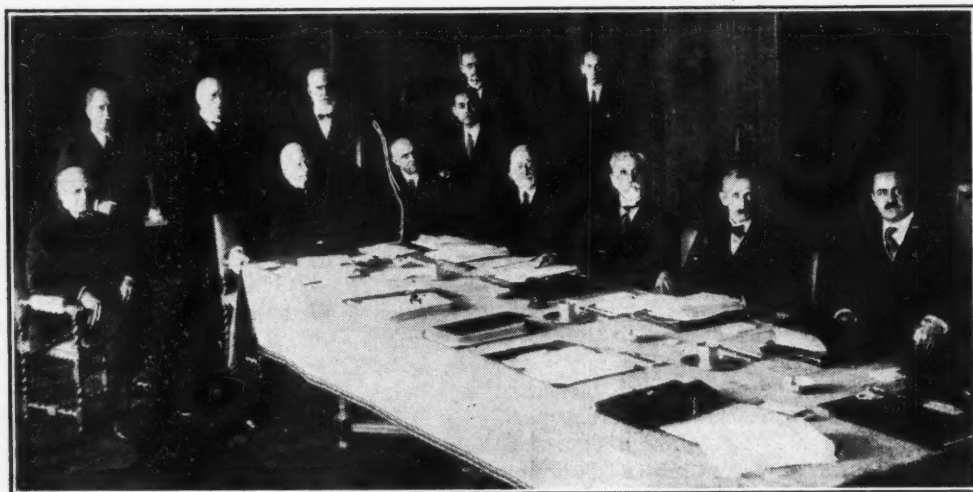
demand could be satisfied was by permitting each State to name four Judges, who would be enrolled on a general list; and by providing that whenever a case for arbitration arose, the parties to the dispute would select usually three to five Judges from this list, which contains 135 names, who would hear the case.

The disadvantages of this system were recently illustrated in the arbitration case between Norway and the United States. These two countries signed a treaty at Washington on June 30, 1921, providing for the arbitration by the old Hague Court of Claims of Norway against the United States Shipping Board for shipping requisitions during the war. Three arbitrators were to constitute the tribunal, one chosen by the United States, one by the Norwegian Government, and the third by the two arbitrators thus selected, or, in case they could not agree, by the President of Switzerland. On Oct. 13, 1922, this court handed down a decision in which it awarded Norway \$12,000,000.

The American arbitrator was absent when the award was read, but at the close of the session the American agent arose and read a letter from the American arbitrator, protesting against the award on the ground that the court had “disregarded the terms of submission and exceeded the authority conferred” upon it. It was very strange to have the dissent of the American Judge read to the court by the American attorney. Regardless of this procedure and of the merits of the controversy, however, disagreements of such a nature are likely to arise whenever the old Hague Court is resorted to, because there is only one really neutral Judge, and because the whole tribunal is a temporary body, the majority of the Judges of which are chosen by the parties to the case. It is impossible for such a shifting organization to profit by experience or to build up a body of judicial principles so essential to any system of law.

GENESIS OF WORLD TRIBUNAL

Because of these limitations of the old Hague Court an attempt was made at the Second Hague Conference of 1907 to establish a new body—a Court of Arbitral Justice; but this attempt failed because the



(© Underwood & Underwood)

Preliminary meeting of the Permanent Court of International Justice after its constitution by the League of Nations. John Bassett Moore, the American member of the court, is seated fourth from the left

great and small powers could not reach any agreement on the method of selecting Judges. The necessity for a more permanent court was felt after the outbreak of the European War. During the Peace Conference the Bar Association of the City of New York transmitted to Paris a resolution advocating the establishment of such a tribunal. Whether or not because of such resolutions the Paris Conference devoted a small part of its time to this question. The Italian delegation was the only one that actually presented a definite plan. Overwhelmed by more pressing problems, the conference reached no definite conclusion as to the court, except to provide in Article 14 of the League Covenant that the Council of the League should draw up plans for a court with power "to hear and determine any dispute of an international character which the parties thereto submit to it," and to "give an advisory opinion upon any dispute or question referred to it by the Council or the Assembly" of the League.

After the ratification of the Treaty of Versailles and the establishment of the League of Nations, the Council invited an Advisory Committee of Jurists, one of which was Elihu Root, to draw up plans for such a court. This committee met at The Hague in the Summer of 1920, and

after working for some five weeks, it presented a draft to the Council, which was ratified by the necessary number of States, and by the Assembly of the League on Dec. 13, 1920. The formal opening of the court took place at The Hague on Feb. 15, 1922. The statute of the court provides that one annual session must be held, beginning on June 15 of each year, unless the rules of the court otherwise provide. As many special sessions may be called as the President of the court deems necessary.

In organizing this new Court of Justice an attempt has been made to do away with the limitations of the old Hague arbitration tribunal. The existence of the League of Nations has made possible the selection of a permanent group of Judges, according to a plan acceptable to States, both large and small. The court is composed of eleven regular and four deputy Judges. They are elected by an absolute majority of the Council of the League, which the great powers control, and the Assembly, which the small powers control, each body voting separately. In case the Council and the Assembly disagree, a joint conference is to be held, and in case it is unsuccessful in choosing the remaining Judges, those Judges already chosen are authorized to fill the vacancies, "from among those candidates who have ob-

tained votes either in the Assembly or in the Council." By this means the idea of State equality has been reconciled with the legitimate interests of the great powers through the Council and the Assembly of the League. Each Judge is to serve nine years, and may be re-elected. The ordinary Judge receives a salary varying from \$6,030 to \$14,070, in accordance with the length of the session. Thus a permanent judiciary has been established which will be able to build upon strong judicial foundations.

POWERS OF NEW COURT

The powers of the new court are extensive, and its duties are likely to be many. According to the League Covenant, all disputes between members of the League must be submitted either to arbitration or to inquiry by the League Council. According to the statute of the court (Article 36), the jurisdiction of the court "comprises all cases which the parties refer to it." The following cases are recognized as being generally suitable for arbitration: (1) The interpretation of a treaty; (2) any question of international law; (3) the existence of any fact which if established would constitute a breach of any international obligation; (4) the extent and nature of the reparation to be made for any such breach.

There is no provision in the Covenant that compels members of the League to submit disputes of the above nature to arbitration. But the statute of the court provided that any State may recognize as compulsory the jurisdiction of the court in these classes of disputes, "*ipso facto* and without special agreement, in relation to any other member or State accepting the same obligation." This recognition may be unconditional, or it may depend on the reciprocity of other States. So far, none of the great powers have agreed to this type of compulsory arbitration; but up to the middle of February, 1922, twenty smaller States had signed the optional clause providing for this almost novel principle.

In addition to its power of general arbitration, the World Court may give advisory opinions upon any question referred to it by the Council or the Assem-

bly of the League of Nations. It will interpret different provisions of some fourteen treaties which have arisen out of the peace settlement. It will adjust differences arising out of eight treaties relative to the protection of alien and racial minorities in such States as Poland, Rumania or Jugoslavia. For example, it will interpret the labor provisions of the major treaties; clauses in regard to railways, ports and waterways, the Kiel Canal, the Danube basin, the Bosphorus, the Ottoman ports, and aerial navigation; differences arising out of the St. Germain treaties; regulating the sale of liquors and of arms; the amount of the Russian debt which Poland is to assume, and the interpretation or application of the statute on liberty of transit, drawn up by the Barcelona conference on communications of April, 1921. In many of these cases the jurisdiction of the court is obligatory, in others it is optional.

Thus the World Court will, at the outset, have more to do than the old Hague Court. The latter tribunal will still exist, but the World Court will probably drive it out of existence because it possesses a permanent judiciary, represents an international organization which will provide a means for enforcing its decisions, and will decide cases according to international law.

Because of the great number of duties imposed on the court, however, it is likely to be confronted with difficulties. The first undoubtedly will be the chaotic condition of international law, the principles of which it supposedly must enforce. According to the statute (Article 38) the court shall apply:

1. International conventions, whether general or particular, establishing rules expressly recognized by the contesting States.
2. International custom, as evidence of a general practice accepted as law.
3. The general principles of law recognized by civilized nations.
4. Judicial decisions and the teachings of the most highly qualified publicists of the various nations, as subsidiary means for the determination of rules of law.

These sources of authority are so conflicting, however, that in the absence of a

recognized code the court will have to build up principles of its own. Yet it is doubtful whether European peoples will allow the World Court to exercise powers which Anglo-Saxon peoples have given to their judiciaries. If this fear proves to be true, the codification of international law, so far as that is possible, will become necessary.

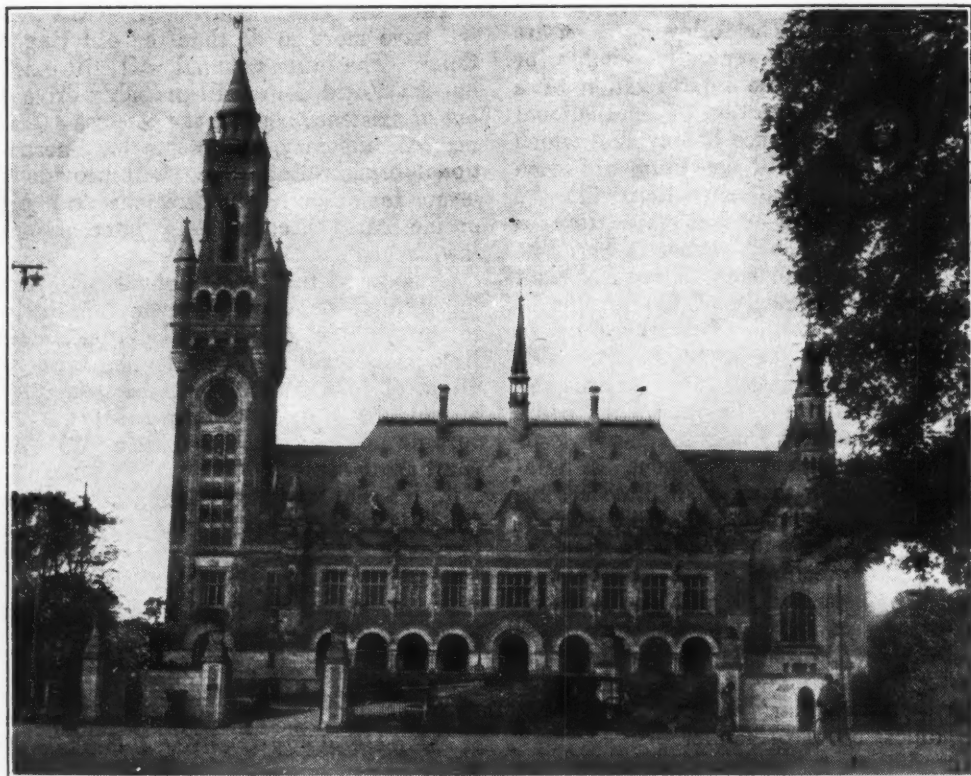
There is also the danger that because of the wide jurisdiction already given the court it will become involved in "political" questions; that is, questions which cannot be settled according to legal principles, such as questions purely of policy. These questions must be left to the political branches—the Council and the Assembly—of the League.

Despite these difficulties, the prospects before the World Court are bright because it is not handicapped with the fundamental defects of The Hague Court, and also be-

cause of the high character of the Judges chosen to guide the destinies of the court through its early years. At least eight of the Judges are professors of law in universities famous throughout the world; many of them have served on courts of arbitration in the past. A noted jurist from Rotterdam, B. T. C. Loder, is President of the court; Charles André Weiss, a member of the old Hague Court and legal adviser to the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, is Vice President. The "American" member is John Bassett Moore, whose "Digest of International Law" is a monumental work.

AMERICAN POLICY ON ARBITRATION

Last Spring the World Court sent out a communication in regard to taking testimony by commission. A copy was sent to the United States. In reply, Secretary of State Hughes said: "Any letters rogatory



(Photo International)

The Peace Palace at The Hague, where the Permanent Court of International Justice adjudicates on issues submitted to it

or commission for taking testimony which may be received will be forwarded to the appropriate executive authorities in the United States, in order that they may be brought to the attention of the courts for such action as it may be possible to take with reference to them under the laws of this country."

This statement was vague. It seemed to pledge us to some form of co-operation with the World Court in regard to a minor point—the taking of testimony. Fundamentally, however, there has never been any real reason why we should not wholeheartedly make use of this court, in case we become involved in a justiciable dispute with another nation. Two Americans have helped to bring the court into existence, Elihu Root and John Bassett Moore. The purpose of the new court, moreover, is in accord with the traditional attitude of the United States toward the legal settlement of disputes. The Jay treaty of 1794 with England provided for three different arbitrations: over a question of boundaries, the claims arising out of confiscated debts, and the subject of neutral rights and duties. Likewise, the Treaty of Ghent with England, of 1814, provided for the arbitration of questions dealing with the ownership of islands in the Bay of Fundy, and the boundary between Canada and the United States. Some of the most interesting chapters in American diplomatic history deal with arbitrations to which we have been a party, whether it be in the Alabama Claims, the Fur Seal controversy, or the North Atlantic Fisheries.

Within the last decade, however, our zeal for arbitration has been on the wane. In 1908 this country became a party to some arbitration treaties, but only after the Senate had amended them to the effect that the "special agreement" (to be drawn up to regulate the procedure for each case) must receive its consent. This meant that whenever a dispute suitable for arbitration occurred a new treaty had to be negotiated, and that if the Senate did not wish to submit it to arbitration it could reject the "special agreement." Subject to these provisions the general arbitration treaties of 1908 were of little value.

Before these treaties of 1908 were thus ratified the American State Department

had arbitrated pecuniary claims against foreign Governments by entering into a simple executive agreement. But the treaties of 1908 put a stop to this practice in the cases covered by them. In the arbitration of claims between Great Britain and the United States, agreed to by a treaty of 1910, the Senate insisted on agreeing to the submission of the individual claims. As a result the settlement of many of them was greatly delayed.

In 1911 President Taft submitted to the Senate an arbitration treaty which he had negotiated with Great Britain. This treaty provided that the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague, or some other tribunal agreed upon, should arbitrate disputes which could not be settled by diplomatic methods. Article 3 of the treaty provided that in case the parties disagreed as to whether or not a difference was suitable to arbitration the question should be submitted to a Joint High Commission of Inquiry. If all of the members of this commission except one agreed that the difference was within the scope of the treaty, it should be arbitrated. The commission was to be composed of three members from each country.

This treaty was severely scrutinized by the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs. When it reported it back to the floor of the Senate it had struck out that part of Article 3 which authorized the Joint High Commission to determine what disputes are subject to arbitration. The Senate supported this amendment on the ground that it could never allow a body which the Government of the United States did not wholly control to decide what action this country must take. This would be a surrender of sovereignty! But this amendment rendered the arbitration treaty of such little value that President Taft withdrew it. No general arbitration treaty can be successful as long as either party can, at its own discretion, refuse to submit a dispute to a tribunal. It was this same type of strained legalism which, in part at least, led to the rejection by the Senate of the Treaty of Versailles.

In its platform of 1920 the Republican Party made the following statement: "We believe that such an international association must be based upon international jus-

tice, and must provide methods which shall maintain the rule of public right by the development of law and the decision of impartial courts. * * * It [the Covenant of the League] ignored the universal sentiment of America for generations in favor of international law and arbitration, and it rested the hope of the future upon mere expediency and negotiation."

The construction which the Senate has placed on the determination of justiciable disputes would indicate that in the recent past this principle has been violated. Most any candid statesman or student will admit (in private at least) that because of the attitude of the Senate it has been practically impossible for the United States to enter into a real arbitration treaty.

The establishment of the Permanent Court of International Justice, however, has answered the charge that the League of Nations rests "upon mere expediency and negotiation." The League has now translated the principle into a reality. The world today does not stand in need of more Abbé de Saint Pierres and other thoughtful gentlemen who spin fine dreams of international Utopias. But it does need a united effort to carry into effect those ideas concerning international organization which are already accepted in theory but are as yet unrealized in fact.

AMERICA TO ENTER WORLD COURT

Secretary Hughes, in a public address delivered in Boston on Oct. 30, defending the foreign policies of the United States, declared that the Washington Government would give its formal support to the International Court as soon as suitable arrangements could be made for American participation in the election of Judges. His statement was in part as follows:

We favor, and always have favored, an international court of justice for the determination

according to judicial standards of justiciable international disputes. I believe that suitable arrangements can be made for the participation by this Government in the election of Judges of the International Court which has been set up, so that this Government may give its formal support to that court as an independent tribunal of international justice.

I do not mean, of course, to imply any criticism whatever of the present Judges or to say aught in derogation of the confidence and esteem in which the eminent American citizen who sits upon that court is held. I simply mean that to support an institution you must have proper provision for a voice in its constitution, and I think that provision to this end can be made. Meanwhile, no interest is jeopardized and no one entertains the notion that there is any danger of the American people going to war over a justiciable dispute.

The important point is that in viewing European conditions you should have a true perspective and should not, in default of adequate remedies, put an exaggerated estimate upon what is good in itself but at this time is far from being curative. It should be remembered that the great problems that now vex the European nations and retard recuperation are not, except to a minor degree, of a legal or justiciable nature which can be solved by judicial tribunals. Nor are they matters pertaining to health and mere humanitarian endeavor, vastly important as matters of this sort are. We always have been and are most desirous to aid, and we are aiding, in such undertakings.

Members of our Public Health Service have been in attendance at sanitary conventions abroad and our experts are associated with efforts to prevent disease, to curtail commerce in narcotics and to co-operate in the prevention of traffic in women and children. It is a moderate statement to say that no people are doing more than we are doing to promote through philanthropic effort the welfare of mankind.

The fundamental and pressing problems of Europe are political problems involving national hopes and fears; deep-seated convictions as to national safety and opportunity; national ambitions, in some cases long cherished, in others recently awakened; established policies which have become postulates in the thought of peoples. Each nation is its own judge in such matters of policy and, whether acting in or out of groups, will follow its own interests save as some special exigency may control.

THE UNITED STATES AND LATIN AMERICA

By HENRY WOODHOUSE

Steps taken by the United States to meet the new conditions created by the World War—Estrangement of three years caused by withdrawal of American capital, change of administration, and occupations of Caribbean Countries now being overcome

[Mr. Woodhouse was an official delegate to the Second Pan-American Scientific Congress, and was Chairman of the First, Second and Third Pan-American Congresses. Through his many contacts with the leaders of Latin-American affairs, he has had unusual opportunities to study the relations between the United States and the neighbor republics to the south at close range.—EDITOR.]

WE have entered into a new era in our relations with the countries south of us," said the Secretary of State, Charles Evans Hughes, upon his return from Brazil in September. This was no mere diplomatic expression of amity, but a depiction of the actual present status of inter-American relations.

The United States has been making rapid strides in solving the problems in Pan-American relations created by conditions resulting from the World War. These relations during the last two years reached the most critical stage ever experienced in inter-American affairs since 1904, in which year the United States Government, in carrying out its traditional policy of broadening the opportunities of the United States, undertook to build the Panama Canal, and, to carry out this revolutionary project, occupied the Canal Zone.

That act caused an uproar, but when the Latin-American countries grasped the fact that the Panama Canal would give them easy access to the world's commercial centres—an expectation that has more than been fulfilled—the objections subsided, and now Latin America points with pride to the fact that its exports and imports, even in the recent depression, were over double those in 1914, 1915 and 1916, and are greater than they were even under the abnormal conditions of 1917 and 1918.

The Department of Commerce's "Survey of Current Business" for August, 1922, shows that Brazil's monthly average of total imports for 1921 was 140,820,000 milreis [the par value of the Brazilian milrei is 32 cents in United States currency]; the monthly average for 1920 was 174,219,000 milreis, while the monthly averages for the previous years were only 82,450,000 milreis for 1918; 69,811,000 milreis for 1917; 69,563,000 for 1916; 48,583,000 for 1915 and 46,821,000 for 1914. The monthly average exports for 1921 totaled 142,477,000 milreis; for 1920, 146,034,000 milreis; for 1919, 181,560,000 milreis; for 1918, only 94,758,000 milreis; for 1917, 99,348,000 milreis; for 1916, 94,741,000 milreis; for 1915, 86,858,000 milreis and for 1914, 62,581,000 milreis.

Argentina's great gains in exports, expressed in pesos [the peso has a par value of 96 cents], has totaled on the monthly average for different years as follows: 1920, 83,919,000; 1919, 85,914,000; 1918, 66,789,000; 1917, 45,848,000; 1916, 47,750,000; 1915, 48,515,000, and 1914, 33,584,000. The monthly average of imports has been equally increased, as follows: 1920, 71,166,000; 1919, 54,648,000; 1918, 41,717,000; 1917, 31,693,000; 1916, 30,511,000; 1915, 25,457,000, and 1914, 26,877,000.

The benefits derived by all Latin-American countries from the Panama Canal have extended beyond expectation, and the accessibility given to heretofore out-of-the-way countries of the Western Hemisphere has raised them to a place among the world's nations. The heretofore practically landlocked and internationally unimportant Caribbean republics have acquired



Photo Harris & Ewing

Official representatives of twenty-one American republics who formed the governing board of the Pan-American Union during the war. This photograph, taken in their assembly room in the Pan-American Building at Washington, shows Mr. Robert Lansing, then Secretary of State, at the head of the table

a strategic importance which has brought them into international prominence. These benefits are so self-evident that no one now questions the wisdom and progressiveness of the United States in assuming the responsibility of building the canal, and Latin-American diplomats have expressed their admiration for this country's liberality in spending \$367,000,000 for construction, bringing about such benefits for the American republics, without asking for any contributions from them.

INTER-AMERICAN PROBLEMS

The most difficult of the problems in inter-American relations outside of the Mexican and Caribbean questions were created by the altering of world conditions brought about by the World War, and by conditions that followed the signing of the armistice. The outstanding problems which projected themselves into inter-American affairs during the last three years, and which may now be said to have been solved or are about to be solved, are as follows:

1. The temporary impression entertained in some Latin-American countries that the elimina-

tion of three of the largest empires, and the reduction in the military effectiveness of European powers by the World War, have ended the need for the Monroe Doctrine and render protection of American republics by the United States unnecessary. This theory is lessened considerably in the large republics by the spread of knowledge of world conditions.

2. The elevation of Latin-American diplomats to high positions in the League of Nations, due to the absence of the United States from the League, which might have led to serious complications, had not the validity of the Monroe Doctrine been recognized by Article 21 of the Covenant of the League.

3. The diplomatic estrangement between the United States and Latin-American nations brought about by the sweeping change of Latin-American diplomats at Washington, all but two out of twenty countries having replaced their Ambassadors and Ministers since the signing of the armistice; and the corresponding sweeping change of United States officials in charge of Latin-American affairs in Washington and the American capitals. All these changes destroyed the cordial, friendly understandings created by years of personal friendship and co-operation in the critical war period.

4. The period of uncertainty regarding the United States Government's basic policy, caused by the lull in inter-American relations during the last Presidential campaign, the change from the Wilson Administration to the Harding Administration, and the misinterpretation of the pre-elec-

tion criticisms by President Harding of the actions of the United States in the Caribbean, which conveyed the impression abroad that the United States might not continue to enforce the "greater policy" based on the Monroe Doctrine, though that policy had heretofore been enforced without deviation by every Administration.

5. The temporary cessation of the United States activities during the period of financial and commercial depression of 1920-21, during which the United States banking and commercial houses, which had gone to South and Central America in 1918-19, had presented stupendous plans, established sumptuous trade quarters, obtained extensive concessions and negotiated large contracts, suddenly withdrew without making proper explanation of the fact that they were forced to withdraw by the "freezing" of credits, by the lack of demand for the products supplied by those countries, and by resumption of South and Central American trade by competing European countries.

6. The protracted Mexican, Colombian, Haitian and Dominican controversies without the additional explanations of basic aims made necessary by the above conditions, and the delay in adjusting such claims as the sugar contract claim with Argentina, which had been negotiated during the war by arrangement between the Argentine Government and the Wilson Administration.

7. The fact that while the above conditions prevailed, and especially during the change from the Wilson to the Harding Administration, the various governmental departments whose duty it is to report on business conditions prevailing in Latin-American countries reported the depressive

conditions in terse business terms which, when translated into the language of the Latin-American countries, appeared needlessly severe and antagonistic to the people of those countries, who are accustomed to more buoyant methods of expression.

8. The feeling created among the Latin Americans who saw the situation only from the outside, and could not understand why the United States, the richest nation in the world, had discontinued its investments in South and Central America, and had stopped being as cordial to them as before and during the war, and were unable to see the inside of the situation because, as explained above, their diplomats at Washington and the United States officials in charge of Latin-American affairs were new and had not yet established the basic intimate diplomatic fellowship which in the past ten years had made it possible for leaders of Latin-American diplomats to call informally on United States officials and obtain the intimate insights that made it possible for such leaders to interpret and translate in their own language for the entire Latin-American diplomatic corps the policies and actions of the United States in the light of Pan-American welfare.

THE PROBLEM OF PROTECTION

The United States, in carrying out its greater policy of promoting the welfare of the Americas, built the Panama Canal and opened that great gateway through which has come, and is to continue to



United States marines stationed at the mouth of the Ozama River, Santo Domingo, for the purpose of suppressing piracy



United States marines in Santo Domingo.

come, the commerce upon which depends the economic development of the nations of the Western Hemisphere. In endowing the heretofore internationally unimportant, practically landlocked Caribbean islands with strategic importance it created for itself the duty of protecting both the Canal and the Caribbean islands, besides enforcing the Monroe Doctrine. Difficult problems arose, the most difficult resolving itself into the practical question of how to apply in the Caribbean Sea the policies based on the traditional Monroe Doctrine in such a way as to protect the Panama Canal, and to promote the economic development and welfare of the South and Central American republics without unduly interfering with the liberties of the people of the Caribbean countries.

The Caribbean countries include the Republics of Cuba, Santo Domingo, Haiti and Porto Rico, forming part of the Greater Antilles group, which, with the Virgin Islands, acquired by the United States from Denmark, are located, in fan shape, off the Atlantic side of the Panama Canal; and the Central American Republics of Panama, Costa Rica and Nicaragua, which flank the Panama Canal, have a seaboard on the Caribbean Sea and are of

strategic importance in relation to the Panama Canal.

The fact that the operation of the Panama Canal—the great gateway upon which depends the economic development of the nations of the Western Hemisphere—is dependent on a mechanical system easily destroyable by gunfire, aerial bombs and mines, made it imperative to evolve a plan of protection that would fully safeguard the interests of all concerned. Since the welfare of the whole Western Hemisphere depends so greatly on keeping the Panama Canal open and operating, without danger from foreign interference, the evolving of plans for protection were entrusted to the United States Navy under instruction from the Department of State as regards to policy.

The method to be pursued by the navy in carrying out the policy expressed by the State Department was left to the Navy Department to decide. This explains why the report of the United States Senate Committee on Haiti and Santo Domingo* was confined to analyzing the acts and alleged shortcomings attending the carrying out of the State Department's policies, and why the policies themselves were not dis-

*Printed in *CURRENT HISTORY* for August, 1922.

cussed. This committee's prerogative could not, without usurping power vested in the executive branches of the Government, be extended to include judgment on the basic policies which have been responsible for ordering the Navy Department to land naval officers and marines to occupy the Caribbean islands and administer their affairs, under specific instructions from the State Department as to the extent of occupation but not as to methods of administration. Likewise the committee could criticise the actions of the civil administrators of Dominican and Haitian affairs who operate under the Bureau of Insular Affairs of the War Department, but could not criticise the policy under which they were appointed.

AMERICA'S GREATER POLICY

The ordering of the United States marines to the Caribbean islands was part of the "greater policy" of the United States, the policy of promoting the welfare of the Americas on the broadest plan conceivable, and protecting the Americas from non-American aggression, occupation and monopolistic exploitation. This has been the basic policy of the United States ever since 1823, when President Monroe enunciated the Monroe Doctrine. No Adminis-

tration has ever deviated from this basic policy.

From time to time, as was the case after the building of the Panama Canal, it became necessary for the United States to restate its greater policies based on the Monroe Doctrine, expressing them in terms applicable to the changes that had been brought about by the progress of events. On such occasions the United States Government always expressed a firm protective policy for the Americas, pledging itself to take any measure whatsoever that might be necessary to protect the American republics as a whole from non-American interference. (Such a restatement of the "greater policy" was made by Secretary Hughes at Rio de Janeiro on Sept. 8.)

The United States Senate report has made it clear that the Caribbean situation could have been managed in a less drastic manner, and that it was needlessly aggravated by maladministration and by disregard of the personal rights and constitutional guarantees of Haitian citizens. In admitting this we must also point out some of the compensating benefits derived by the people of Haiti and the Dominican Republic. For instance, under United States administration the people of those republics began to enjoy the benefits of up-to-



A view of Quito, Ecuador, looking west.

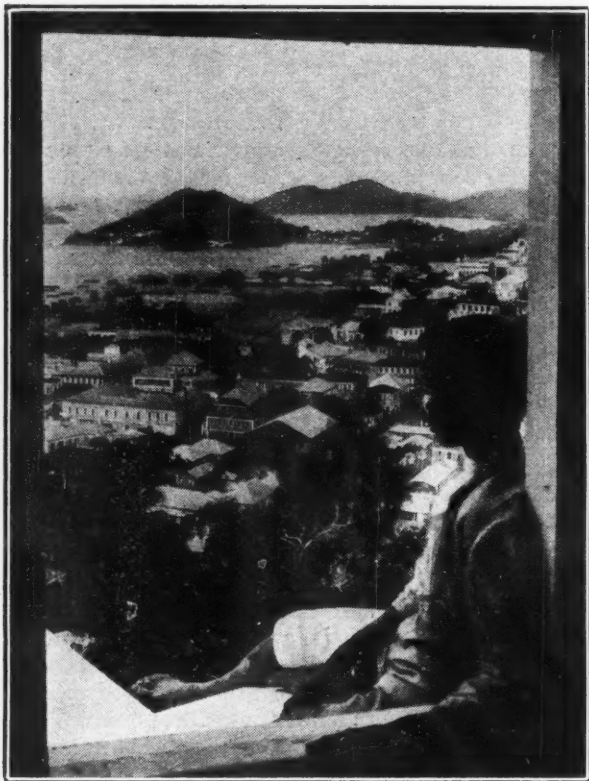


Photo Brown & Dawson.

Looking out from the tower of Blue Beard's castle over the City of Charlotte Amalie, capital city of St. Thomas, Virgin Islands

date sanitation. Piracy also was suppressed.

THE RECENT CRISIS

When we consider the nature of the outstanding problems enumerated at the beginning of this article, we realize that very few of these questions were the results of United States actions. They were created mainly by conditions over which the United States had no control and for which there were no precedents.

Some of the questions contributing to the recent crisis were old, but had acquired new aspects through the fact that the World War has been considered by some of the Latin-American Governments to have removed the menace of foreign aggression in the Americas, therefore removing the necessity for United States protection, while in the absence of the United

States from the council table of the League of Nations some able Latin-American statesmen, with the encouragement of European Governments, have distinguished themselves by their participation in decisions of international importance.

Nations are, of course, entitled to every advantage they can secure legitimately, and it would be narrow and futile to begrudge these Latin-American nations the prominence and opportunity to share in international decisions to which they have suddenly been elevated. It was inevitable, however, that those nations thus raised to the status of judges around the council table should consider and pass unofficial judgment on acts of the United States.

The questions asked by the sister republics have been inspired by serious concern for their liberties. They are anxious to agree with the United States if it is shown that their countries are benefited in any way by the United States policies. In a general way, the

Monroe Doctrine has been more deeply studied and its effects more extolled in Latin-American countries than the United States, where only those acquainted with the "greater policy" really have appreciated the Monroe Doctrine's basic importance. As Secretary Hughes found, the outstanding Brazilian Government building in Rio is called "Monroe Palace," illustrating the high regard of Latin-American countries for the founder of this historic formula. The new feeling of independence and distrust, however, could not be concealed. It became necessary to restate the "greater policy" back of the Monroe Doctrine and of the United States actions in the Caribbean, where the building of the Panama Canal created the necessity of applying this policy more than anywhere else; and where, unfortunately, the United States had been embarrassed by administrative shortcomings.



Photo Brown & Dawson

A view of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, taken from Sugar Loaf Mountain, showing Botafoga Bay to the right and the sea to the left.



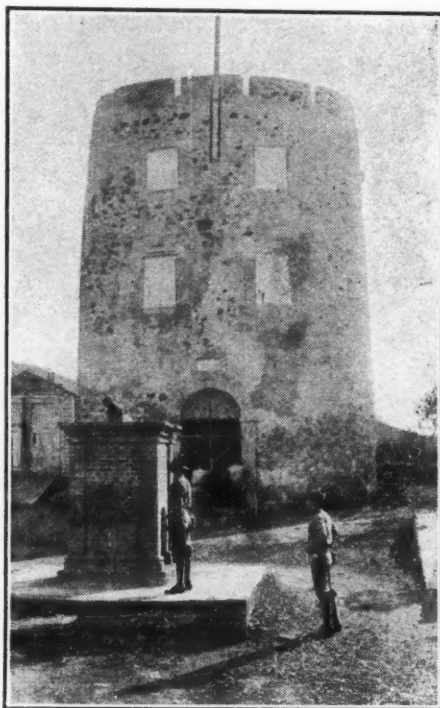
© Brown & Dawson.

The Capitol Building at Buenos Aires; Argentina.

It is to the credit of the United States that it did not blunder in this crisis. It was assumed to be entirely natural that the younger partners in the Monroe Doctrine, grown into independent nations largely through the protection afforded them by the enforcement of the Doctrine, and strengthened by the commercial developments arising from the Panama Canal, should want to have a more active part in the shaping of the policies which are to govern the destinies of the Western Hemisphere. It was also assumed that these countries have not been unmindful of the benefits derived heretofore, and have been, if anything, predisposed to agree with and join the United States in continuing the strict enforcement of the Monroe Doctrine and the related policies, if the United States could show them that the mission and usefulness of the Doctrine have not come to an end.

A NEW ERA OF HARMONY

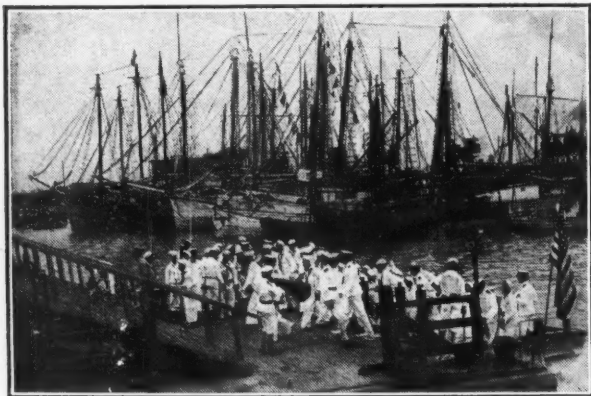
In numerous ways the United States Government has restated to the world its basic policy in terms applicable to present-day conditions. The restatements have impressed Latin America, and most of the problems listed at the beginning of this article are being resolved. The Mexican question is being settled. Abandoning thoughts of recourse to the League of Nations, the Latin-American countries have



Castle in the Virgin Islands, formerly used by pirates

returned to the United States to arbitrate their differences. The lull in commerce between the United States and Latin-American countries has ended and marked gains are being recorded; United States bankers have resumed underwriting for various South American republics; United States

manufacturers and contractors have renewed their credit extension to the Latin-American republics to cover purchases of locomotives, rail, power plants, public utilities, and other materials, equipment and construction; steps have been taken to promote closer relations and freer exchange of ideas between United States and Latin-American diplomats through the Pan-American Union and other agencies; a beginning has been made toward solving the problem of Haiti and the Dominican Republic by Secretary Hughes's announcement of the decision to



U. S. Navy Photo.

A liberty party of United States Navy men going ashore at Callao, Peru



Aerial view of Ancon, on the Pacific side of Panama. The building in the foreground is the American hospital.



© Publishers' Photo Service.

One of the principal squares of Lima, Peru.

withdraw the United States troops from Santo Domingo and restore native government and native police.†

Last, but most important of all, was the decision to have Secretary of State Hughes go to Rio de Janeiro to attend the exposition held to celebrate the anniversary of Brazil's independence, to enable the representatives of the nations assembled there to receive direct from the lips of our highest diplomatic representative the message of good-will sent by the people of the United States to the people of the sister American republics and the expression of the earnest desire of the United States to have their active co-operation in promoting the well-being and insuring the safety of the nations of the Western Hemisphere.

Secretary Hughes at Rio solved one of the great problems threatening Pan-American solidarity by restating in terms applicable to the conditions of today the friendly policy of the United States toward the American republics as well as its de-

termination to maintain the "independence, the unimpaired sovereignty" and "the political integrity" of the people of Latin America.

This declaration came at an auspicious moment. The Third Assembly of the League of Nations, which met at Geneva in September, by quasi unanimous consent selected as Chairman of the Assembly and President of the League two of the ablest statesmen of Latin America, who have been staunch supporters of the Monroe Doctrine — Senhor Domicio da Gama, Brazilian Ambassador to Great Britain, and Señor Augustin Edwards, Chilean Minister to Great Britain. The elevation of these able interpreters and supporters of the Monroe Doctrine to such dominant places in the League of Nations has solved one of the most difficult problems, as it has eliminated the misunderstandings that threatened to arise through Latin-American republics expressing disagreement in the council of nations regarding the dominant policy which has been the safeguard of the American republics for the past hundred years.

†The plan for the evacuation of Santo Domingo was proclaimed on Oct. 20, 1922, and the new Provisional Government, headed by Juan Batisti Vicone Burges as President, was formally installed the next day—EDITOR.



Railway station at Sao Paulo, Brazil.

THE VATICAN'S WORLD POLICY

By JAMES H. RYAN

Executive Secretary of the National Catholic
Welfare Council

Renewed prestige of the Vatican since the conclusion of the World War—Reasons for the Pope's neutrality—Papal policy in regard to Russia and Palestine—The "Roman Question"

IT is quite as important for America to understand the Vatican as it is for the Vatican to understand America. That the position of the Holy See in the world today is of the utmost significance no observer can doubt. But this position must be correctly judged, as well as the efforts which were put forth to achieve it and are being put forth to maintain it, if we are to profit by our knowledge of its past and present policies.

The article by Raymond Leslie Buell—"The Vatican and the New World"—published in the September issue of *CURRENT HISTORY* does not estimate at its just worth the present international position of the Papacy, nor does it recite with historical exactness the many acts which led up to its attainment. It is, therefore, a piece of writing capable of doing a great deal of mischief, for the reason that it will tend to perpetuate opinions concerning the Popes and their policies which cannot but make more involved the relations of the United States with the Papacy and with Europe.

I do not question the integrity of Mr. Buell nor the sincerity of his point of view. To put it bluntly, he does not know the facts. Many of his conclusions, too, are based on "near facts," when they do not follow from mere assumptions. The Vatican does not work in the dark. Its acts are an open book to all. A straightforward, honest presentation of those acts can scarcely fail to impress the fair-minded American interested in international affairs.

Backstair gossip of the Chancelleries of

Europe and the gleanings of anti-clerical papers are not a secure foundation on which to build our conceptions of Vatican policies. We shall never understand the rôle of the Holy Father in the new world that has arisen after the great war if we neglect to look facts in the face or permit prejudice to determine our view of what the Vatican is and how it will act under any given set of circumstances. Clear thinking, together with a knowledge and appreciation of the past, are necessary requisites for the observer who would justly estimate the present-day political policies of the European States. Wherever the Vatican is concerned they are doubly necessary. The Papacy has a past of definite achievement. What is more, it acts on principle, definite, clear cut and well defined. Any man possessing even a slight acquaintance with the history of the Popes can, if he views a given situation in a sympathetic frame of mind, gauge to a practical certainty what the attitude of the Papacy will be.

The Pope is an international figure, whether he wills it or no. The great war did not make him so. It did, however, open the eyes of the powers to the necessity of closer contact with this other power which, possessing no territory, no army, no navy, wielding no influence on the markets of the world, yet held in its hand a force which no army or navy can give. It is the moral force which the Papacy exerts today that has drawn to the Vatican representatives from practically every nation in the world.

In 1922 twenty-seven nations are offi-

cially represented—either by Ambassadors or Ministers—at the Vatican. Semi-official relations are maintained with China, Japan, Turkey and Lithuania. Diplomats anticipate that in the near future the Japanese Empire will be represented by a duly accredited diplomatic agent. The countries that maintain embassies, according to the latest number of the *Annuario Pontificio*, are France, Germany, Spain, Belgium, Brazil, Chile and Peru. The following countries maintain legations: Argentina, Austria, Bavaria, Bolivia, Colombia, Costa Rica, England, Haiti, Holland, Hungary, Morocco, Nicaragua, Poland, Portugal, Rumania, Russia, Czechoslovakia, Venezuela, Yugoslavia and Luxemburg.

The growing power of the Vatican in international affairs is one of the marvels of the war. The Vatican diplomacy is supreme in the Balkans, in the new republics carved out of Russia and the old Hapsburg Empire and in South America.



Photo International.

POPE PIUS XI.



© Paul Thompson.

POPE BENEDICT XV.

Even France has resumed full diplomatic relations, not because of Alsace-Lorraine, as is so often asserted, but because her best statesmen appreciate that France needs the good-will of the Holy aFther. The acquisition of Alsace-Lorraine undoubtedly had a great deal to do with this resumption of diplomatic relations by the French Republic. It is ridiculous, however, to state that the world was "treated to the humorous spectacle of Georges Clemenceau—a notorious free thinker—appointing the Catholic Bishops of Metz and Strassburg!" These Bishops were appointed by the Pope after having been assured by the French Government that they were *personae gratae*. The Vatican during the centuries has fought too many bitter battles to protect its right of episcopal appointment to yield it to France at this late date, merely to have the "honor" of receiving one of her representatives in Rome. The Vatican does not need France as much as France needs the Vatican.

The influence of the Court of Pope Pius XI. is felt everywhere in Europe. While

all other Governments are manifesting signs of internal weakness or suffering from the after-effects of the war, the Holy Father and his spiritual kingdom display a vitality and activity that are truly marvelous. Benedict XV., during his short reign of seven years, saw dynasties destroyed, empires broken. He was elected Pope at a time when the influence of the Papacy was judged by politicians to be at a very low ebb. He lived to see it attain a prestige rarely equaled in its history.

When Benedict XV. died he was hailed by the press of the world as the Pontiff of Peace. With unanimity of praise, the nations pointed to him as a true follower of the King of Peace. After the fever of war and the animosities and hatreds engendered thereby had subsided it was clearly seen that the Pope had been absolutely and consistently impartial, that he had been the Father of all, and as such could not (even if he had wished to do so) have taken the side of one country as against the other in the fratricidal warfare which divided them. For a "political" Pope, his first Encyclical "Ad Beatissimi," issued Nov. 1, 1914, was strangely non-political. The whole burden of his message can be summed up in the words, "Love one another." Benedict XV. was unquestionably a diplomat, but not in the ordinary acceptance of that word. He was, first, last and all the time, a Pope, and a very saintly one, too.

PAPAL NEUTRALITY IN THE WAR

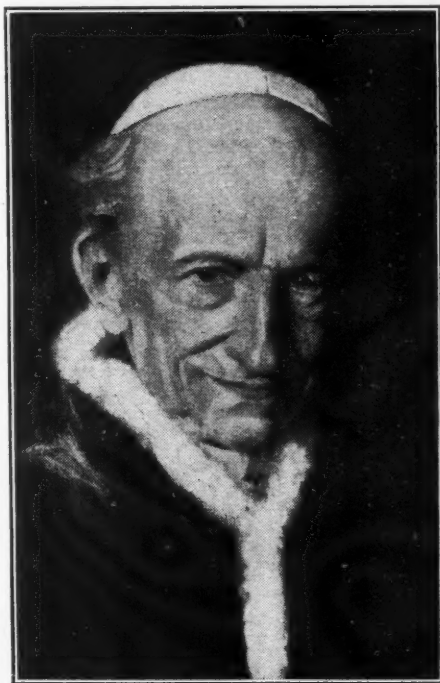
It is not necessary to defend the attitude of the Papacy toward the warring nations of Europe. The Pope was impartial—neither pro-German nor pro-ally. He was, however, anti-war, as his predecessor, Pius X., had been. During the heat of the struggle he was not in a position to judge. Neither party asked him to make a decision. Every consideration of justice and mercy demanded that he suspend judgment. The peoples of the warring nations were all his children. The allied countries counted more Catholics than those arrayed on the German side. Moreover, the underlying causes of the war, and the consequent guilt for having begun the same, were not so patently evident in 1914 as to make a mistaken judgment impossi-

ble. Disclosures of the last few months have proved that Benedict XV. acted with the utmost sagacity and prudence in suspending judgment.

The policy of his Holiness with reference to the war was stated clearly in the Allocution of Jan. 22, 1915, the text of which follows:

To proclaim that for nobody is it lawful, on any plea whatever, to offend justice, belongs chiefly, beyond all question, to the Roman Pontiff, as to him who is by God appointed the supreme interpreter and defender of the eternal law; and we do proclaim it without phrases, condemning openly every injustice, by whatever side it may have been committed. But to involve the Pontifical authority in the very contests of the belligerents would surely neither be appropriate nor useful. Certainly, any one who judges carefully cannot fail to see that in this enormous struggle the Apostolic See, though filled with great anxiety, must remain perfectly impartial.

Any well-informed judgment must approve of the Pope's course. It is only a naïve mind that would expect the German Government to modify its course in the midst of its victories because the Pope condemned it. Benedict XV. realized this perfectly. His course of action was obvious. The Pope stood for justice; he



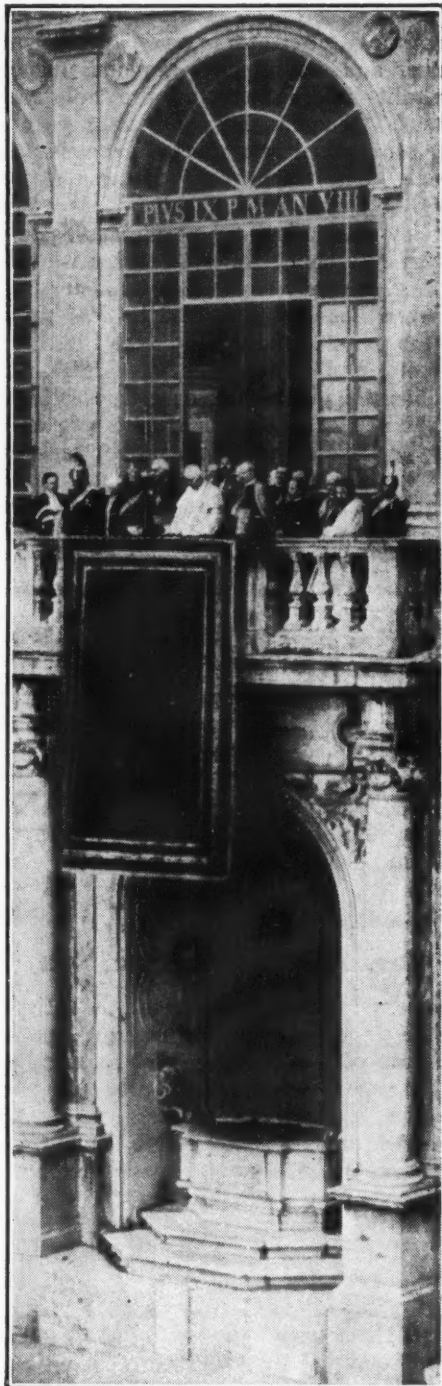
POPE LEO XIII.

condemned injustice, no matter on what side. By implication, therefore, he condemned the German wrongdoing. Later on, through a letter of Cardinal Gasparri to the Belgian Minister to the Holy See, he explicitly reprobated the violation of Belgian neutrality: "While, then, in the present conflict as a general rule one side accuses and the other denies, and the Holy See, consequently, being unable to conduct an inquiry and find out the truth, cannot make any pronouncement, in this case the German Chancellor himself recognized that in the invasion of Belgium a violation of neutrality was committed, contrary to international law, justifying it simply on the grounds of military necessity. It follows that the invasion of Belgium is directly included in the words used by the Holy Father in the Consistorial Allocation of Jan. 22 last, when he condemned openly every injustice, by whatever side and for whatever motive committed." Does this show "failure to condemn the violation of Belgium's neutrality"?

No one is able to speak with more authority of the Holy Father's real attitude toward Belgium than Cardinal Mercier. His Eminence, in a Pastoral of April 25, 1915, expressly stated:

From the beginning of the war, certain cunning, evil and treacherous minds have persisted in encouraging the rumor that the late Pope Pius X., and our Holy Father Benedict XV., gave help and moral approval to our enemies, and, through weakness, did an injustice to the rights of the Belgian people. These are calumnies, my brethren—nothing but infamous calumnies. * * * As for our Holy Father, Pope Benedict XV., what could he do for the Belgians that he had not done? His very first Pontifical blessing was for us, and he charged me to bring it to you in his name. On two occasions he was good enough to send generous donations to Belgium, in spite of the poverty of his resources. In his fatherly goodness he addressed to us two letters of consolation designed for you. Add to this his resolute and noble Consistorial Allocation of the 22d of January; his answers to the telegrams of the King and the Government; that to M. Van den Heuvel; the support he afforded us through his Apostolic Nuncio in Brussels—and if, after all this, Belgium is still not satisfied, I am afraid her spiritual piety tempts her to excess of spiritual hunger.

The efforts of the Pope to bring about peace have been willfully misunderstood and misconstrued. The Papal peace note was issued solely on the initiative of Bene-



Pope Pius XI. appearing on one of the loggias of the Vatican Palace after his election.

dict XV. Even those very close to him did not know of its existence until after it was published. This peace note was neither pro-German nor pro-ally. It was pro-peace. The Holy Father, it is true, put too much faith in the sincerity of the words of the German and allied statesmen manifesting a desire for peace. The failure of his first effort, however, did not dishearten him, and again and again he returned to the charge. When Armistice Day came, Benedict looked out on a world torn by dissensions. The conquerors were preparing to impose terms on the conquered. The Holy Father immediately addressed a letter asking prayers for the "solemn congress which was to give the world a just and lasting peace." He called on the delegates to the coming Peace Conference to establish a peace "founded on the Christian principles of justice." Would to God that the nations had heeded this last appeal of Benedict XV.!

THE POPE AND RUSSIA

The plight of Russia stirred the charitable soul of Benedict XV. as no other cause did. He was keenly alive to the sufferings and hardships which the poor people of that unhappy country have had to endure. From among the powers of Europe he was the first to rush to their assistance. The Papacy always has relieved distress everywhere. It does not ask, before sending assistance, whether a nation is Catholic, Protestant or pagan. To qualify an act of supreme charity toward Russia on the part of the Pontiff as "political," and to see behind it a covert scheme to proselytize Orthodox Greek Catholics, is willfully to misunderstand the charitable work of the Popes.

The relief committee sent into Russia by the present Holy Father, with the consent of the Soviet authorities, is there to do welfare work. It is not an "entering wedge" the real purpose of which, under the guise of charity, is to alienate the Russian people from the Orthodox Church. This does not mean that the Papacy would not look with favor upon the return of the Russian (Orthodox Greek) Church to communion with Rome. The Church stands for unity, and cannot forswear her re-

ligious rights. She hopes and prays that the Orthodox Church will return. But she realizes only too well that the free distribution of bread will not bring it back.

The plea of Pius XI. for the success of the Genoa conference was but a continuation of the policy of his predecessor, Benedict XV., to spare no effort that would make for real peace. The Papacy has not recognized the Soviet Government, and does not intend to do so until after the other powers have entered into relations with it. The Papal letter to the Archbishop of Genoa was not a bid for Soviet favor. It was the outcome, as the letter itself states, "of the keen desire to see established in the world a new peace, which does not merely consist in the cessation of hostilities, but principally in spiritual reconciliation." That no ulterior motives prompted the dispatch of this letter is evidenced by the warm reception given it on all sides. Italian statesmen and the Italian press praised it in unqualified terms. Mr. Lloyd George warmly approved: "I cannot say how pleased I am at this remarkable document, nor could I exaggerate the terms in which it is couched. The Pope speaks with first-hand knowledge of conditions in Eastern Europe, and I feel that so clear and definite a pronouncement by the Holy See in favor of peace with Russia is a great encouragement to the Christian powers assembled at Genoa."

The Genoa conference was a failure. One happy result, however, was the acceptance by the Soviet representatives of the terms of a memorandum presented to the conference by Mgr. Pizzardo, in the name of his Holiness. The memorandum asked the Soviets for guarantees as regards freedom of conscience and freedom of religious worship, both for Russians and foreigners. This was granted. The value of such a concession cannot be overestimated. Not only will it help to save the Russian Church, impotent to defend itself, from disaster; it is likewise the first step in a program of understanding between the Soviet Republic and the great powers which may open the door to a world peace so long sought after by all.

Palestine, and particularly Jerusalem, has been since the earliest days of Chris-



Keystone Photo.

CARDINAL PIETRO GASPARRI
Papal Secretary of State.

tianity considered "holy" by the Christian world. The Popes have taken a special interest in everything that has to do with the birthplace of Christianity, especially the preservation of its shrines and holy places. During the last four hundred years France has been the secular protector of Christian interests in Syria, Palestine and the whole Near East. France has done this, however, as much out of national interest as out of respect for the wishes of the Holy See. French influence has been dominant in Syria and Palestine for centuries, and is strong today despite the British occupation. This is a fact of supreme political importance which must never be forgotten when discussing the Palestine question.

Another fact of the greatest political significance is that the majority of the inhabitants of Palestine are not Jews, but Arabs. These Arabs are Moslems. The Jews of Palestine are but a very small minority of the population—less than 10 per cent.—and comparable in numbers to

the Christian inhabitants, Orthodox and Roman Catholic. For centuries the Arabs have possessed the land and conducted the business and the Government of Palestine. They do not, as one may well imagine, look with pleasure on the dominating position both in political and commercial life that has been given to the Jews at the command of a power whose relations with the Holy Land in the past have been meagre. England is in Palestine today purely by force of arms. The Arab population cannot understand how England, no matter what her reasons may be, has the right to turn over their interests in Palestine to a minority which has never shown the slightest interest in the country or in its future until the fortunes of war suddenly thrust a "national home" upon them.

Catholics are vitally interested in the Holy Land because it is one of the great pilgrimage places of the world. Thousands of pilgrims, the great majority Roman Catholics, visit Palestine every year. They, as well as the holy places, must be protected. To say that the Vatican is anxious about the future of Palestine for the reason that this is an "attempt which Rome is making to establish its spiritual sovereignty over the Eastern Churches" is another evidence of the blindness of those who always see in Vatican policies something sinister, some deeply laid plot to extend the Papacy's political influence.

It is not true that the Vatican has "objected to the terms of the British mandate, which provides that the administration shall facilitate Jewish immigration and encourage the close settlement of Jews on public land; which recognizes the Zionist organization as the 'proper Jewish agency' to work with the British in establishing their national home; and which provides for the establishment of a special commission to settle all religious claims, especially in regard to the holy places." The Holy See is not and never has been opposed to the Jews as such, but it cannot look with equanimity at the privileged position accorded them in Palestine; directed toward the expelling of Christians and Moslems from all positions they hold and replacing them by Jews. Such treatment is **not** in conformity with Article

XXII. of the Treaty of Versailles governing that class of mandates. Nor can the Vatican sanction the makeup of the general commission that will be formed to protect the rights of the different religious creeds in Palestine. The commission as originally planned was one-sided, and did not protect the interests of all parties. The Pope, therefore, protested to the headquarters of the League of Nations at Geneva.

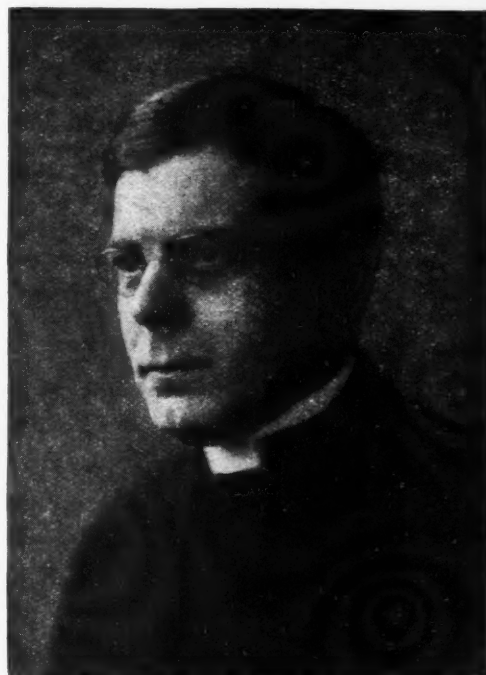
The Holy See has not opposed the British mandate. In the Allocution of June 13, 1921, the Holy Father expressly stated: "We do not wish to deprive the Jews of their rights; we want, nevertheless, that they be not in any way preferred to the just rights of the Christians."

Article XIV. of the Palestine mandate provides for a special commission "to study and decide all questions of claims between the various religious faiths." The Holy Father could not in conscience accept such a commission until he knew definitely its makeup. It is beside the point to appeal to British fairmindedness, or to quote Earl Balfour to the effect that in no country has the "Catholic religion received fairer or more generous treatment than it has within the British Isles." What the Pope demands is that it be expressly stated who are to be the members of this commission, and that not only England, but all the powers interested be represented thereon. This is simple justice, no less than wise statesmanship.

The offending article has lately been modified to read: "A special commission shall be appointed by the mandatory to state and define the rights and claims in connection with the holy places, and the rights and claims relating to the different religious units in Palestine. The method of nomination of committees and functions of this commission shall be submitted to the Council of the League of Nations for approval, and the commission shall not be appointed or enter upon its functions without the approval of the Council." It is presumed that this new article will be satisfactory to the Vatican, as it expressly does away with British domination in the naming of this commission, and leaves in the hands of the Council of the League of Nations the right to ratify the commission

when it is appointed. It was precisely for this point that the Holy Father contended. The Pope would be derelict in his duty if today he permitted any nation to abrogate in the least degree Christian rights acquired by centuries of prescription.

There has been more nonsense written about a Jewish national home than probably any other question of present international moment. The papers have been filled, particularly during the last year, with Zionist propaganda. Earl Balfour's original declaration has been twisted and torn until even he would scarcely recognize it. The Zionist group claim a political independence for Palestine which no British Government promised them nor, unless it goes stark mad, will ever concede them. I venture to think that England did not look with disfavor on the protests of the Pope. I know these protests were particularly pleasing to a strong and influential group of Jews, both in America and Europe, who see in the unbridled claims of "ardent Zionists" the greatest menace that has ever risen to the continued



JAMES H. RYAN

development and prosperity of the Jewish race. Such an eminent Jew as Mr. Morgenthau, former United States Ambassador to Turkey, after an interview with the Pope found himself in perfect agreement with the Holy Father in his stand on the Palestine mandate. "As for Palestine," said Mr. Morgenthau, "the Pope himself brought up the question. I found we were in complete agreement, both favoring Palestine as a cultural centre for Jews, and condemning the excessive demands of some Zionists who wish to make Palestine a Jewish nation."

THE "ROMAN QUESTION"

There is no question so clouded by religious prejudice and therefore so difficult for the American reader to understand as the so-called "Roman Question." The Pope is assailed on all sides for his attitude toward modern Italy. He is called a "disruptionist," an intransigent. He is accused of looking forward to the day when the Kingdom of Italy shall be no more, and he shall reign in the Italian peninsula in place of the weak and vacillating House of Savoy. The Pope is constantly placing obstacles in the path of Italy, we are told, injuring in subtle ways known only to the Vatican the prestige of Italy before the world.

In order to grasp the real significance of the Roman problem it is necessary to go back to 1870, when the Papal States were forcibly wrested from the Pope and incorporated into the present Kingdom of Italy. For almost one thousand years, since the days of Charlemagne, the Roman Pontiffs have ruled as secular sovereigns over a strip of land known as the "Patrimony of Saint Peter" or the Papal States. By immemorial prescription the Popes had acquired the rights of rulers. No dynasty of Europe today can present claims of sovereignty in any way equaling those which the Popes possessed.

The Middle Ages appreciated the reasons which lay behind the existence of the Papal States. The modern world as well, up to 1870, saw in the Papal States a guarantee of freedom that was not only a right of the Popes, but a necessity as well, if the cause of religion was not to

suffer. The world approved the temporal power because it saw in it a guarantee of religious liberty, as well as an international impartiality on the part of Popes, which would be impossible to maintain if the Popes were subject to any secular ruler. The States of the Church were always looked upon as something more than a mere secular dominion. They were a pledge to the world of the independence of the Papacy; they were a neutral ground on which every nation could come and present its claims to the Holy Father, and be assured of an unbiased hearing as well as of an unbiased judgment.

On Sept. 20, 1870, the Piedmont troops stormed the Porta Pia, and Rome fell. The Pope was shut up in the Vatican, the Kingdom of Italy was proclaimed, and in 1871 the famous Laws of Guarantees were enacted. Pope Pius IX. protested against this theft—for theft it was—and every succeeding Pontiff has done the same. To have done otherwise would have been to ratify the work of Sept. 20. No Pontiff can do that, because no Pontiff can surrender his liberty of action to any Government whatsoever. It is not merely a question of territory, but of personal liberty, of religious independence. The Papal States were a guarantee of that freedom. The Italian Law of Guarantees guarantees nothing.

The Popes, so miserably treated by the Italian Government, however, have not been anti-Italian. A more fervent Italian than Pius X. never lived. Pope Benedict XV. came from a family of patriots, one brother being an Admiral in the Italian Navy. Pius XI. is no less Italian than his predecessors.

The real stumbling block to an equitable solution of the Roman Question is Italy itself, or, rather, certain Italian politicians. I think it can be said with truth that the Italian people would look with great favor on a just solution of this knotty problem. They are fervent Catholics, and deprecate the false position in which the Pope stands today. In fact, they have demanded more than once that justice be done the Pope.

When the World War broke out, many looked forward to the day when, around the peace table, the claims of his Holiness would be given due consideration. But

their hopes were doomed to die unrealized. Again the Italian politicians blocked all attempts at a solution. The infamous Article XV. of the secret treaty between England, France, Russia and Italy stated that these nations "obligate themselves to support Italy in her desire for non-admittance of the Holy See to any kind of diplomatic steps for the conclusion of peace, or for the regulation of questions arising from the present war."

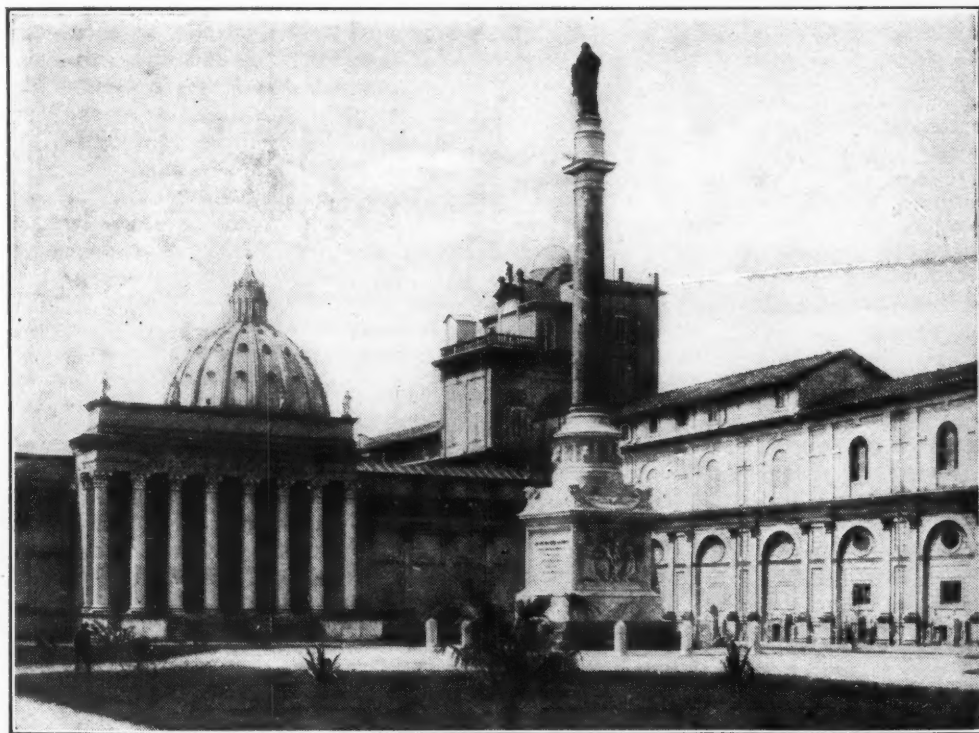
The Italian Government persists in seeing in the Roman question a mere domestic problem. The Peace Treaty was a means which Italians used to consolidate their position and claims with reference to Italy. It has been said that the whole affair was the result of Baron Sonnino's bitterness toward the Vatican, and that he alone is responsible for a diplomatic faux pas for which the leaders of France and England have disclaimed all responsibility. The frank statement of Lord Robert Cecil in this respect caused a very favorable impression not only in Rome but in the

whole Catholic world. Whatever may have been the genesis of Article XV. or the secret motives behind it, one thing is certain—it did not settle the Roman question.

The Sonnino prohibition has turned out a boomerang. It has injured only Italy, and has revealed the Italian politician to the world in his true colors. The Pope never claimed the right to sit at the Peace Conference table. Under the circumstances, he would not have gone even if he had been invited. If the war had ended in a draw, the Holy Father would have willingly used his powerful influence to the end that justice be done, and right triumph over might. Given an allied victory, and the imposition of terms on a defeated enemy, no Pope could sit at any such Peace Treaty.

THE POPE LOYAL TO ITALY

The Catholics of Italy have always been loyal to the kingdom. No Pope has uttered a syllable which could be interpreted as a menace to existing Italian in-



Garden of the Vatican at Rome.

Photo International.

stitutions. Not only did Catholics loyally support Italy in the war, but the Holy Father himself, though falsely called pro-Austrian, did everything in his power to alleviate the hardships of the war, and expressly commanded Bishops and priests to exert all their influence toward obtaining an Italian victory. If the Pope wished to disrupt Italy, the war was the time to do it. He was accused in the allied press of having done so. The Caporetto disaster was placed on his shoulders. The world knows today that if the line of Piave held, it was due more to the strength and morale engendered in the Italian armies by the brave words of the Italian Hierarchy and priesthood than to any other cause.

Pope Benedict XV. has come closer to the Italian Government than any preceding Pontiff. His protest against air raids on open cities; his references to "our beloved Italy"; his dispatch of the Papal peace note to the "King of Italy" by means of the English King—all these things showed where the heart of Benedict lay. In all this, however, he has not compromised for one moment the historical position of the Roman Pontiffs with reference to the States of the Church. In his first Encyclical of Nov. 1, 1914, Pope Benedict XV. made this statement:

All from far and near, who profess themselves sons of the Roman Pontiff, rightly demand a guarantee that the common Father of all should be, and should be seen to be, perfectly free from all human power in the administration of his Apostolic office. And so, while earnestly desiring that peace should soon be concluded among the nations, it is also our desire that there should be an end to the abnormal position of the head of the Church, a position in many ways very harmful to the very peace of nations. We hereby renew, and for the same reasons, the many protests our predecessors have made against such a state of things, moved thereto not by human interest, but by the sacredness of our office, in order to defend the rights and dignity of the Apostolic See.

In 1915 Cardinal Gasparri stated the position of the Holy See in the following words: "The Holy See awaits the con-

venient systematization of its situation, not from foreign arms, but by the triumph of those sentiments of justice which it hopes will spread more and more among the Italian people in conformity with their true interests." In the Allocution of December, 1915, the Pope said: "We have deplored the situation of the Sovereign Pontiff, which is such that it does not allow him that full liberty which is absolutely necessary for the government of the Church. Those governing Italy are not wanting in good intentions to eliminate these inconveniences."

The only comment is that if these statements are anti-Italian and tend toward the disruption of modern Italy, Italy need have little fear of the Popes. Some solution of the vexing Roman question must be found. The Holy Father has pointed the way; it remains for Italy to see the solution and to bravely accept its terms.

The diplomatic gossip reported by Mr. Buell is beneath denial. That "Leo had even negotiated with Bismarck to move the Vatican to Germany" or that "the Vatican brought pressure to bear to prevent the entrance of Italy into the war, even going so far as to institute negotiations to secure an asylum for the Pope in Spain" are mere vaporizings of the anti-clerical European press. There is not one shred of evidence in the printed documents of the Holy See to prove such assertions. In fact, everything points in the opposite direction. Fair-minded Protestants need have no fear of the activities of the Vatican. The Popes, especially during the last decade, have stood out for world peace. Their so-called political efforts have been directed toward the solution of problems which were primarily connected with the attainment of peace. In this they were not challenging Protestantism or any other religion. Conscious of the moral leadership which they possess and which the nations acknowledge, the Popes have unstintingly given of their best to make the world a better place to live in.

POLITICAL ISSUES IN CANADA

By D. M. LE BOURDAIS

Former Editor of The Canadian Nation

Canada passing through a stage of political transition—Struggle between two-party system and group plan—Growth of agrarian movement—The Conservatives' fight to retain power

LIKE most other countries, Canada to-day, speaking politically, is passing through a period of transition. Just what the outcome will be is a matter for interesting speculation. The two-party system, characteristic of Canadian politics since the Dominion's earliest days, seemed recently to be in danger of giving way to the group plan; but more recent evidence seems to indicate that the tendency of humanity to fall into two broad groups—the Conservatives, who prefer things mainly as they are, and the Liberals, or innovators, who prefer a change—is likely to continue for a time in some form or other, although challenged perpetually by the presence of one or more vigilant groups.

The Conservatives in Canada have generally been considered the party of protection, the Liberals the advocates of lower tariffs; but when the Liberal Party came into office in 1896 it made no material change in the tariff schedules of its protectionist predecessors. The reason is not hard to find. Previously to 1896, and for some years afterward, the population of Canada was confined chiefly to the territory lying east of the Great Lakes. Towns dependent upon industries which had been developed under the protective tariff absorbed the products of the surrounding agricultural districts, and found in these districts their own principal markets. Thus the larger part of the products of both rural and urban communities was disposed of locally, and, therefore, the protective tariff, which was calculated to preserve the home market, gave general satisfaction.

This situation soon changed. The great

Northwest was rapidly filling with people. The vast prairie lands were being broken up and the golden stream of wheat was beginning its never-ending course from the plains to the markets of the world. Here the protective policy was no mutual affair between town and agricultural community. The industries which benefited by the tariff were chiefly in the cities of the East, while the prairie farmer found his market beyond the confines of the Dominion. The price of wheat was set by world conditions of supply and demand, and a protective tariff afforded the farmer no relief. On the contrary, he must purchase practically all his requirements—all his implements, clothing and much of his food—at prices materially increased because of that selfsame protective tariff. The prairie farmer, consequently, irrespective of previous political allegiance, became a strong advocate of lower duties generally, and of duty-free agricultural implements and other tools of production, particularly.

Another grievance the prairie farmer had was this: the elevator companies, owned and controlled as a rule by the financial interests that also controlled the railways and banks, levied such toll upon the farmer's grain in the process of marketing that his labor was often largely profitless.

THE AGRARIAN MOVEMENT

The farmers set about remedying the latter condition first. Grain-marketing organizations composed of farmer shareholders were formed for the purpose of entering into direct competition with

the privately owned corporations, and in this way many of the abuses complained of were remedied. These organizations have since attained enormous dimensions and have become wealthy and influential.

Encouraged by their success in the economic field, the farmers next undertook to make their influence felt in the political sphere, and within a very short time strong associations were established in each of the three prairie provinces. These asso-

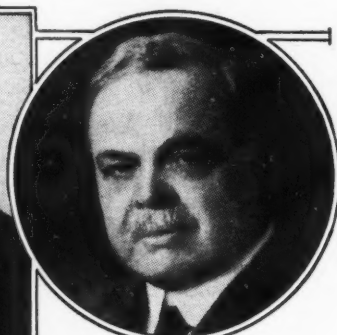
ciations were nonpolitical and sought to effect their reforms through the medium of the existing political parties by means of resolutions and delegations, rather than by direct political action. In the Summer of 1910 a delegation of about 800 farmers waited upon the Laurier Government at Ottawa and asked for lower duties and wider markets; and there is little doubt that this incident had a considerable amount of weight with the Government in the decision arrived at shortly afterward to enter into negotiations with the United States on the question of reciprocity.



ARTHUR MEIGHEN
Leader of the Canadian
Conservative Party; for-
merly Prime Minister of
the Dominion



W. L. MACKENZIE KING
Prime Minister of Canada, and
leader of the Liberal Party



SIR L. GOUIN
Minister of Justice of Can-
ada; formerly Premier of
the Province of Quebec

The war, however, turned men's thoughts away from domestic political questions, and the unprecedented demand for the products of both field and factory rendered the effect of a customs tariff negligible, so far as its influence upon trade was concerned; while the conscrip-

tion issue, which was the storm centre of the 1917 elections, created for the time being a new line of political cleavage. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the veteran Liberal leader, opposed conscription. After a vain attempt to persuade him to join a Coalition Government, a number of English-speaking Liberals joined Sir Robert Borden in the Union Government in order to carry a conscription measure and enforce it afterward.

Among these was Thomas A. Crerar of Winnipeg, who became Minister of Agriculture. He was President of the United Grain Growers, Ltd., the largest of the farmers' grain-marketing organizations, with upward of 36,000 shareholders. A business man rather than a politician, it is doubtful if Crerar would ever have been induced to enter political life but for the war. As domestic questions of a contentious nature were shelved by mutual agreement during the war, he found no great difficulty in participating in a Cabinet which also contained a number of protectionist Conservatives, but when in 1919 the Unionist leaders declared their intention to continue in office beyond the period tacitly agreed upon at the time the Government was formed, and also evinced an inclination to perpetuate the protective policy (which, in the meantime, had resumed its old importance in the political

program), Crerar resigned his portfolio and announced that he could no longer support the Government.

NATIONAL PROGRESSIVE PARTY

His course was followed by about a dozen other members from the prairies. Under ordinary circumstances they would have joined the opposing party. But the schism of 1917 was too recent for one thing, and there was still the suspicion in agrarian breasts regarding Liberal good faith on the tariff; consequently, an independent group was formed in the House of Commons which became the nucleus of a third party, later known as the National Progressive Party.

Crerar's action in Parliament became the signal for a general movement toward political organization throughout the constituencies, particularly in the prairie provinces and rural Ontario. In the provincial elections held in the Autumn of 1919 the United Farmers of Ontario captured control of the Legislature in the hitherto strongly Conservative Province of Ontario; while in July of 1921 a Liberal Government that had held office since 1905 in Alberta also went down to defeat before the swelling tide of agrarian political enthusiasm. As an evidence that the movement is by no means ephemeral, the organized farmers of Manitoba succeeded in winning control of the Manitoba Legislature as lately as July, 1922.

In the meantime Sir Wilfrid Laurier had died in 1919, leaving his party depleted in numbers as a result of the split in 1917. At a national convention held in Ottawa, William Lyon Mackenzie King, a comparatively young man who had been Minister of Labor in the Laurier Cabinet for a short time previous to 1911, was elected leader of the Liberal Party. He had been out of active political life since 1911, although in 1917 he had unsuccessfully contested a constituency in the Liberal interest. In the interim he had been employed by the Rockefeller Foundation in the United States as an investigator in industrial questions and was looked upon as an authority on such subjects; but he was not widely known throughout Canada, and had no great personal political following. Although he was not generally credited with

the possession of the attributes of leadership, he was known to be honest and conscientious, had been faithful to Laurier, and was possessed of considerable ability as a platform speaker, qualities which appealed to the Liberals at that time.

At the same convention that selected King as leader, a political platform was adopted. It pledged the Liberal Party, among other things, to an immediate downward revision of the tariff upon the attainment of office, and reaffirmed the party's faith in reciprocity with the United States.

The Conservatives, however, so far as leadership was concerned, were little better off than their historic opponents. Sir Robert Borden was worn out with the strain of office during the strenuous war years, and was deterred from resigning the Premiership only by the difficulty of naming a suitable successor. Finally, at the end of June, 1920, he handed over the reins of office to Arthur Meighen, a member of his Ministry since 1913. Meighen is a man of great intellectual attainments, an untiring worker, an incisive, forceful speaker, clever and resourceful in debate, if somewhat narrow in viewpoint and given to hair-splitting objection, and lacking in what are commonly called the "human" qualities.

The new Premier's task was to hold the coalition together, but it soon became evident that the Unionist Party had reached the end of its tether. Defections increased rapidly, and it seemed probable that the Government could not survive another session of Parliament. Meighen, whose idea of defense is to attack, decided to appeal to the country in a general election. He dropped the Unionist label and solicited the support of the voters on a platform of high protection.

THE PROTECTIONIST ISSUE

The times seemed most propitious for the proponents of protectionist arguments. The effect of the Fordney Emergency Tariff bill, with its stringent duties against agricultural products, was being felt in all parts of the Dominion, but particularly on the prairies, and the Conservatives made the most of the situation, using the action of Congress to point their arguments against the policy of reciprocity with the United

States which was being advocated by both the Liberals and the National Progressives. Mr. Meighen toured the whole Dominion, and in speech after speech denounced the agrarians as destructive free traders who would destroy the established economic fabric of Canada. He attacked particularly Mr. Henry Wise Wood, President of the United Farmers of Alberta, a political philosopher of great influence and ability, an avowed advocate of group government, to whose organizing ability the rapid growth of the agrarian political movement in Western Canada is very largely due. Wood came to Canada from the United States in 1905, and since then has been farming in Alberta, where he is generally regarded as a conscientious and high-minded citizen. For political pur-

to the large financial interests from whom they each derive their campaign funds (the National Progressives secure theirs from the electors in each constituency, by popular subscription). They attacked the Liberals for their failure to effect reductions in the tariff during their previous fifteen-year term of office and cast doubts upon their future intentions in the event of their regaining power.

The Liberals, on the other hand, took up a position about midway between the Conservatives and the National Progressives, but their attitude was obscured to a large extent by generalities; and there is reason to believe that the charge of their opponents that the Liberal tariff policy varied somewhat in different localities was not far from the truth. For instance, in



Three of the leaders in Canadian politics: (at left) Henry Wise Wood, President of the United Farmers of Alberta and chief exponent of agrarian aims in Western Canada; (centre) James S. Woodsworth, one of the two Labor members of the Canadian House of Commons and well known as social worker and strike leader; (at right) Thomas A. Crerar, leader of the National Progressive Party

poses the fact of his American origin was seized upon by the Conservatives in the apparent hope of creating an outburst of anti-American prejudice such as that which proved so successful in the reciprocity campaign of 1911.

The National Progressives, on their part, disclaimed any desire to wreck the national fabric, but persisted in the advocacy of lower tariffs and duty-free agricultural implements. They attacked both the Liberals and the Conservatives indiscriminately, on the ground of their subservien-

Montreal Sir Lomer Gouin, former Premier of Quebec, an avowed protectionist, was one of the Liberal standard bearers, and other well-known protectionists in various parts of the country found shelter under the Liberal banner. The Liberals, however, adhered to the plank in their platform which called for reciprocity with the United States.

THE RAILWAY QUESTION

Another matter which assumed a great deal of prominence in the campaign was

the railway question. It had been a growing problem for Canadian Governments for some time back. Through the rapacity of railway promoters and the connivance of both Federal and Provincial legislators, Canada had been greatly overbuilt with railways. In 1917 the Canadian Northern had been taken over by the Government as the alternative to continued financial assistance; and in 1919 the Grand Trunk, the oldest railway system in Canada, had also been acquired for the same reason. In this manner the people of Canada had become the owners of the greatest railway system, in point of mileage, in the world.

Before passing into the hands of the Government the roads had been allowed to deteriorate very greatly. The track, particularly in the case of the Canadian Northern, was in deplorable condition, and rolling stock was woefully inadequate and in need of repair. The Government, therefore, found it necessary to expend immense sums on these deferred improvements, thereby swelling enormously the annual deficits on operating and fixed charges accounts. These deficits were used to good effect by those opposed to the principle of Government ownership.

Opinion in Canada was, and is, strangely mixed on the subject. The Conservative Party, oddly enough, is strongly committed to it. But the exigencies of the situation, rather than deliberate choice, brought the Conservatives to this conclusion; they were in power when the collapse of the Canadian Northern rendered nationalization of that road the only practicable alternative. The Liberals, being at that time in opposition, found it necessary to criticise certain particulars of the terms under which the road was being acquired, and in that manner rallied to their support the majority of those who were opposed to the theory of public ownership. The Conservatives, though merely defending a measure left on their doorstep by fate, as it were, from defense of a particular case found themselves drawn into general support of the principle. Under ordinary circumstances opinion on this subject does not follow party lines, both Conservatives and Liberals being divided among themselves as to its merits or demerits. During the cam-

paign, however, the Liberals were accused by their Conservative opponents of being hostile to the nationalization of railways, and in some quarters the charge was probably not without foundation. In the Province of Quebec Sir Lomer Gouin, who is a Director of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, led a spirited attack upon the railway policy of the Government, in which his hostility to Government ownership was quite undisguised.

The National Progressives, on the other hand, were practically unanimous on the question of railway nationalization; it was a prominent plank in their platform, and they were consistent in its advocacy.

The unwonted presence of three full-fledged parties in the field lent an element of uncertainty to the elections such as had never previously been the case. When the votes were counted it was found that the Liberals had carried Quebec and two of the three Maritime Provinces solidly. This gave them, with 21 of the 82 Ontario constituencies, 5 in New Brunswick and a few scattered districts in the West, a total of 117 out of the 235 Parliamentary seats.

The Progressives carried practically every district in the prairie provinces, only five going to their opponents, three to the Liberals and two to Labor (which for the first time gains a real foothold, small as it is, in the Canadian Parliament), while in Ontario they carried twenty-three and in British Columbia three. East of the Ottawa River, however, where they had little organization, the Progressives won only in a single district.

The Conservatives were successful in only fifty-one constituencies throughout the whole Dominion, six provinces out of the nine having failed to return a single Conservative member.

NEW LIBERAL GOVERNMENT

As a result the Liberals were called upon to form a Government. In ordinary circumstances, under the two-party system, it would not have been possible for them to carry on the administration of affairs without a considerable working majority, but with the opposition split into two parties, whose respective views on most questions are almost diametrically opposed,

there was good reason to believe that a minority Government might succeed, as it was not considered likely that common ground would be found upon which the Conservatives and National Progressives might unite to defeat the Government.

Mr. King, however, felt that it would be better if he could command a larger following owning definite allegiance to the Liberal Party, and he caused overtures to be made to the National Progressive leaders with a view to an amalgamation of the two groups. It is an open secret that Mr. Crerar was willing to consider the proposal, but members of the more radical wing of his party rebelled and the project fell through, whereupon Mr. King selected a Cabinet composed purely of Liberals, including Sir Lomer Gouin as Minister of Justice. Mr. Fielding, one of the authors of the reciprocity agreement of 1911, assumed once more the office of Minister of Finance.

The first session of Parliament, however, emphasized the sympathetic attitude of Mr. Crerar and a considerable section of his following toward the Liberals. It is true that they opposed the Liberal budget on the ground that it did not provide sufficient reductions in the tariff—reductions of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. and 5 per cent. with respect to relatively few items having been proposed by the Government—but here again another rift appeared in the Progressive ranks: nine Progressives, representing British Columbia and Ontario constituencies, voted with the Liberals against the majority of their own party, thus saving the Government from defeat.

The experience of this first session goes to show that though two parties can exist without there being much material difference between their respective political beliefs, a third party, to continue as a separate political entity, must have a distinctive set of political principles. But a majority of the National Progressives differ very little from the majority of orthodox Liberals; and there is little doubt that another session will see many of them

more or less openly allied with the Liberals, if not actually within the fold, striving by their presence to bring about a closer correspondence between Liberal precept and Liberal practice.

Since the close of the session two events have conspired to bring the Liberals and National Progressives still closer together: the Near Eastern crisis and the railway situation. With regard to the former, Mr. King declined to follow the lead of Premiers Hughes and Massey of Australia and New Zealand, respectively, in pledging military support to Great Britain in a possible war with Turkey without the previous consent of Parliament, a course which was warmly endorsed by Crerar and the agrarians generally. Regarding the Canadian National Railways, the Government has effectually silenced the pre-election charges of its opponents by the recent appointment of a board of directors, free from objection on the grounds of sectionalism or political influence, and headed by Major General Sir Henry Thornton, since 1914 general manager of the Great Eastern Railway of England, but a former United States citizen, born in Logansport, Ind., who gained his experience in railroading on the Pennsylvania and other American roads. He is recognized as a really great railway executive, and his appointment was hailed with almost universal approval throughout the Dominion.

It is not to be taken for granted, however, that the agrarian movement, in so far as it represents a departure from the political practices of the past, has failed. There are a number of members now comprised in the National Progressive Party in the House of Commons, most of whom subscribe to the political philosophy of H. W. Wood, and who will doubtless continue to follow an independent course no matter what the majority of their party may do. Their increase or decline will depend very largely upon the extent to which the older parties succeed or fail in interpreting the public mind.

THE FRANCO-GERMAN FEUD

By J. ELLIS BARKER

Hostility between French and Germans since the dawn of history due to racial differences and the struggle for the Rhine—How fear conditioned French policy—Economic effects of the World War—France convinced that Germany can fulfill obligations

THE differences existing between France and Germany exercise a powerful and pernicious influence upon world affairs. They affect not only political relations in all five continents, but international business as well. The world watches with increasing impatience the acrimonious quarrel of these two countries, and the unending reparation discussion, with its recurring crises and ultimata, both disguised and undisguised, is becoming a hideous nightmare. France accuses Germany, and Germany accuses France, to the other nations. German propaganda is apparently more ably managed than French, and disposes possibly of larger means. A widespread impression has been created that France is unreasonable and vindictive; that she means to ruin Germany at any cost; that her financial claims are quite unreasonable; that the financial difficulties of France are due not to the absence of reparation payments, but to unduly light taxation of the French, on the one hand, and to the most scandalous waste of money in the war-stricken provinces, on the other; that she is deliberately outraging German feelings by quartering black soldiers upon the people, and so forth.

The Franco-German feud dates back many centuries. The Rhine was the frontier that divided the two peoples at the time of Julius Caesar, and they have been fighting for that frontier for 2,000 years and more. At the peace of 1648, ending the terrible Thirty Years' War, by which Germany was so weakened, the old empire under French influence was converted into a loose combination of independent States. Meanwhile, France grew rapidly in strength and civilization, and the Germans began to admire and imitate her. This

situation was radically changed by the Napoleonic wars. The French armies were at first hailed as deliverers from feudal tyranny, but the democratic régime early introduced was succeeded by one of oppression, and, following the explosion of 1813, Germany regained her liberty. From this time on, German statesmen kept alive German hatred for France, in which they recognized a most potent bond of national unity. German historians and the writers of school books, the State-salaried clergy, journalists and teachers have vied with each other in preaching hatred and contempt of the French. When Bismarck came to power he deliberately worked for a war with France, and the victory of 1870-71 seemed to prepare the way for France's extinction. The effect of the Franco-Prussian war on French population may be visualized from the figures given in the accompanying table. These figures, year by year, show that between 1816 and 1870 French population increased by 9,000,000 and German population by 16,000,000. German growth was 80 per cent. faster than French. Between 1871 and 1911 French population increased by 3,400,000 and German by 24,400,000, or nearly 700 per cent. faster. Between 1901 and 1911 French population increased by 600,000 and German by 8,500,000, or nearly 1,400 per cent. faster. Continuation of this state of affairs would have converted France into another Belgium compared with Germany. The great slackening of population growth followed the disastrous war of 1870-71 because Germany had imposed upon France an enormous war burden. In addition to the indemnity of 5,000,000,000 francs, there was a huge loss due to devastation and to the confiscation of practically all the French

war material, and, as Germany's attitude continued threatening, the French had to re-create their armies and to fortify their country with the utmost speed.

Bismarck seized Alsace-Lorraine, not on the ground of nationality, but on that of convenience. Purely French Lorraine contained gigantic iron ore deposits. By a mistake, part of the iron field was left to France. The Franco-German war deprived France of its most valuable ore resources, and handed them over to Germany, to the latter country's great advantage. With her superabundant coal, Germany was able to create by far the largest iron, steel and engineering industries in Europe, and to develop, on the basis of these, large and exceedingly prosperous industries, which enabled the country to support a rapidly growing population. France, on the other hand, weighed down by a gigantic war debt, and deprived of her most valuable industrial resources, could no longer nourish rapidly increasing numbers. It should be pointed out that the Franco-German war had cost Germany only a little more than 1,000,000,000 marks in actual expenditure, and that she demanded and obtained from France four times as much. The war had proved extremely profitable to Germany from the financial and industrial points of view. Bismarck had hoped to cripple France permanently by an indemnity which he thought was unbearably heavy, and he was deeply disappointed when France paid it off within three years.

After her defeat France was wounded and angry, but in the course of time her humiliation faded from the memory of many. French people came to think that the stagnation and decline of their country were inevitable. Many were ready to forget Alsace-Lorraine and to co-operate with Germany. Few dreamed of a war of revenge. The nation had become peaceful and bore with ever-increasing difficulty armaments more or less equivalent to those of far more populous and far wealthier Germany. No one thought of a war of aggression, but a determination grew up to defend the country to the last in case of a German attack. All Frenchmen thought it necessary to lay the German danger for all time should Germany once more wantonly make war upon France. A

French and German Population
From 1816 to 1911

Year.	Germany Within the Limits of 1914.	France (Since 1871, Without Alsace- Lorraine).
1816	24,833,000	29,480,000
1830	29,520,000	32,370,000
1850	35,397,000	35,630,000
1870	40,818,000	38,440,000
1871	40,997,000	36,190,000
1881	45,421,000	37,590,000
1891	49,762,000	38,350,000
1901	56,874,000	38,980,000
1911	65,359,000	39,602,000

general conviction had arisen that only the possession of the Rhine frontier would give France security against her powerful neighbor. Even small peasants in the villages were accustomed to say: "We do not want war with Germany, but if Germany attacks us and we are victorious we must have the Rhine frontier to obtain security."

THE WORLD WAR AND REPARATIONS

The war of 1914-18 was fought principally on French soil. The eastern provinces of France contain exceedingly valuable agricultural areas, such as the famous Champagne, and also contain the bulk of France's coal, iron, steel and engineering works. During the war many leading Germans, and especially the industrialists, had demanded that France should be utterly ruined not only by an unbearable indemnity but by the confiscation of all her coal and iron situated near the German border. Had the Germans been victorious, they would have made France a third or fourth rate country. Maddened by their defeat, the Germans deliberately destroyed factories, mine shafts, and so forth, so as to cripple the country for at least a decade. The demands they made during the war for gigantic confiscations and indemnities, and the precedent created by their own action in 1871, led France to demand the Rhine frontier and an indemnity sufficient at

least to repair the ruined provinces. French experts felt certain that Germany could pay almost unlimited amounts, because the natural wealth of the country is gigantic.

Germany is the most highly mineralized country in Europe. In the Ruhr Valley alone there is more coal than in the whole of the United Kingdom. Notwithstanding the loss of the coal fields in the ceded territories, Germany remains the leading coal-owning nation in Europe. Apart from her vast store of black coal, Germany has enormous deposits of lignite, or brown coal, of which she produces this year about 120,000,000 tons. She has retained the bulk of her inexhaustible potash deposits. While France is hilly and mountainous throughout, all North Germany is a level plain most favorable to agriculture. Hence German agricultural production is twice as great as French. France's turbulent rivers are scarcely navigable; Germany has a unique system of deep and gently flowing rivers which open the country from end to end and vastly contribute to its wealth. The mere fact that Germany has twenty times as much coal as France, and that German coal is of far better quality than French, suffices to show that Germany is far richer than France. In respect to population, also, Germany has the advantage. France has less than 40,000,000 people; Germany has more than 60,000,000.

FRENCH VS. GERMAN TAXATION

In view of her vastly greater material and human resources, Germany ought to produce twice as much wealth as France, and considerably more wealth than England, and ought to be able to bear far higher taxes than either France or England. As Germany's army and navy have been reduced to the utmost, there should have been an ample margin for paying reparations. However, Germany asserts her inability to pay. The payments so far made have not even sufficed to pay for the foreign armies of occupation on the Rhine. How lightly Germany is taxed in comparison with England, France and the United States may be seen from the figures, which in the Spring of 1922 were put before the House of Commons by Mr.

Hilton Young on behalf of the British Government:

Comparison of Taxation Placed Before the House of Commons

Country.	Per Capita Taxation.
	£ s. d.
United Kingdom	20 8 10
France	11 15 7
United States	7 5 3
Germany	19 3

According to the figures given, French taxation per head was twelve times as high as German, and British taxation per head was twenty times as heavy as German. The German draft budget for the year 1922-23, which began on April 1, estimated that the revenue of the country would come to 103,208,855,677 marks. According to present indications, the revenue for the financial year will come to 200,000,000,000 marks, and possibly to a somewhat greater sum. That amount appears gigantic. However, if converted into English money, it is very small indeed, as the following figures show:

At 5,000 marks to the pound—£40,000,000
At 7,000 marks to the pound—£30,000,000
At 10,000 marks to the pound—£20,000,000

Meanwhile the revenue which will be collected during the same period by France will exceed £500,000,000, and that of the United Kingdom will exceed £900,000,000. German taxation is a "joke." There are heavy tax rates, but they are not collected. Fraud upon the revenue is general, and the guilty are not punished. Inflation leads to a rapid increase in prices and in paper profits. Men pay taxes with long delay when their paper income is ten or twenty times as great as it was when the assessment was made. Meanwhile luxury and waste throughout Germany are general.

RECKLESS FINANCIAL POLICY

The Germans habitually complain about unbearably high taxes and the rapacity of the French, and point to their impoverish-

ment by inflation. A nation cannot be impoverished by printing bits of paper. Money is only an illusion. National wealth and income are determined by production and consumption. Inflation has certainly impoverished the unfortunate middle-class people, who live on fixed incomes, but it has enriched the industrialists and agriculturalists, whose debts have been wiped out. A German clothing manufacturer can pay off a large mortgage by selling a dozen pairs of trousers. A German farmer can pay off a large mortgage by selling a pig. Inflation in Germany has not impoverished the nation, but has resulted in transferring gigantic sums from the investors, banks, and so forth, to the industrialists and agriculturalists, to whom they have lent their money, and the latter, unwilling to pay any taxes, call Heaven to witness that Germany cannot pay, and seek to prove that Germany is utterly ruined by pointing to the middle class, whom they themselves have robbed of their all.

Taxation, rightly considered, is paid not in cash but in goods. Germany has no adequate surplus for reparations, and not even for her domestic purposes. At the present moment the national expenditure is about five times as great as the national revenue. Germany undoubtedly lives above her means. Production, quite apart from the lost districts, is only about 60 per cent. as great as it was before the war, while consumption is nearly as great as it was in 1913. The nation spends more than it earns and pays foreign nations with bits of printed paper. Slacking and idling have become general, not owing to the rapacity of the French but because of the reckless financial policy of the German Government and its policy of subsidies and doles. Workers, whose money wages have been largely increased, naturally desire to enjoy a higher standard of living and to have easier working hours. In the United States and in England post-war inflation led to the same results. By vigorous deflation British and American workers were taught that a nation cannot spend more than it earns. Germany is spending considerably more than she is earning. With vastly increased numbers of miners, she produces less coal, production per miner per shift having fallen to

about 60 per cent. of the pre-war production. Conditions in agriculture and in the manufacturing industries are similar.

THE CONTRAST WITH FRANCE

Meanwhile France is working hard and taxing herself mercilessly in order to pay her way. France's financial position (reckoned in francs) may be summarized as follows:

Summary of the Financial Position of France

	Francs.
Revenue in 1914	5,191,861,991
Revenue in 1922	24,702,059,912
Interest on national debt in 1914	1,306,585,021
Interest on national debt in 1922	12,647,161,236

If we reduce France's revenue to pounds sterling or to dollars, it will be seen that it is fully twice as large as it was in 1914. Germany's national revenue, on the other hand, will come only to one-fourth or one-fifth the pre-war figure. France, then, with her most valuable industrial districts ruined, raises twice as much revenue as before the war, while Germany, with her industrial outfit unimpaired, raises one-fourth or one-fifth the pre-war revenue. Nevertheless, we are told that France pays not enough taxes. As a matter of fact, taxation per head in France is 50 per cent. greater than it is in the United States. In view of the vastly greater wealth of the United States, it must be estimated that on the individual Frenchman the tax burden is two or three times as heavy as it is on the individual American. It is true that the Englishman pays 50 per cent. more in taxes than the Frenchman. However, England's factories and mines have not been destroyed. Besides, England has gigantic sources of income in her merchant marine, vast foreign trade, powerful manufacturing industries, foreign banking and finance, and so forth, in all of which activities French resources and income are very inferior to British.

It is quite true that income tax and land tax in France are relatively light, that in

many cases income taxpayers escape payment. As other taxes, however, alike direct and indirect, are excessively great, the French people could not bear heavy land and income taxes in addition. The bulk of France's land is held by small peasants. They bore the burden of the war; half of them were killed and crippled. Agriculture is largely carried on by very old men, women and small children. They were certainly entitled to be preferentially treated by the tax collector. Instead of having a general income tax similar to that of Great Britain or of the United States, France has a number of direct taxes and indirect taxes which are borne by the rich and the well to do, and which take the place of a general income tax. Between 1914 and 1921 direct taxes borne by the rich have increased from 658,000,000 francs to 5,365,000,000 francs, or eight-fold. Of indirect taxes paid by the rich and well to do, I would mention the registration tax, the receipts of which have increased from 615,000,000 francs to 2,705,000,000 francs, or four and a half fold, during the period mentioned; the taxes on stocks and bonds, which have been raised from 153,000,000 francs to 926,000,000 francs, or six-fold. Besides these, there are other taxes which strike at the rich.

WHY GERMANY DOES NOT PAY

Practically all Frenchmen are convinced that Germany is able to pay, but determined to evade payment. Inflation has led not only to the appearances of poverty by transferring the money formerly possessed by investors to active business, but leads automatically to accumulation abroad. German business men and others who wish to put money by send it out of the country. That is quite easy. Noblemen, for instance, sell their estates, buy export goods with the proceeds, send them across the country and have the proceeds placed in foreign banks and safe deposits. As money evaporates if left in Germany, only fools keep deposits and balances with the banks. The penury of the banks increases the impression that Germany is poor, although the real wealth of the country, which consists in fruitful land, mines, forests, machinery, and so forth, is unimpaired.

Although the German Government takes solemn oath to witness that it is unable to pay anything for reparations, that the people are being ruined by overtaxation, vast subsidies are still being given in the shape of artificially cheapened food, transport, rent, and so forth. The Government railways, the Post Office and all other public services are run at an enormous loss, which is being made up by the taxpayers. Hundreds of thousands of additional officials have been appointed during the last few years. The Government Post Office, with greatly reduced work, employs 100,000 more workers than in 1913, and the Government railways 300,000 more workers than in the pre-war year. We can well understand France's indignation at receiving nothing from Germany with regard to reparations. The cost of repairing the devastated districts is likely to be as heavy as the cost of the war. Unless France is paid by Germany, she will succumb under the burden. While England is weighed down by her gigantic war debt, France has to carry not only a similarly great war debt but a reparation debt which eventually may prove as great as the war debt, or greater. We cannot wonder that the French have demanded for years the occupation of the Ruhr Valley. The seizure of Germany's most valuable coal field would give them some security for payment, and if the Germans should still refuse to pay, France might indemnify herself by putting a tax on every ton of coal exported from the Ruhr district. Germany cannot do without the Ruhr coal, which supplies the bulk of her requirements.

France is widely believed to act harshly and unreasonably toward Germany by demanding unduly large amounts from that country. No doubt exaggerated and fraudulent compensation claims have been made to the French Government. That is only natural, and when a country has been totally devastated it is extraordinarily difficult to ascertain the value of a house and furniture of which no trace has been left. Besides, neighbors help each other in making undue claims, and there is a general belief among claimants that one can obtain one's due only by making exaggerated demands, because claims are hardly ever paid

in full. It has also been stated that much money intended for rebuilding purposes has been wasted. That is no doubt true, but that waste was inevitable. The task of rebuilding thousands of miles of railways and roads, thousands of bridges and public buildings, of clearing and leveling the soil of tens of thousands of farms, and of building and repairing hundreds of thousands of houses was so gigantic that it could not be handled by experts of known character. These would have spent decades in rebuilding. The essential thing was to create some kind of order and adequate shelter as rapidly as possible. Hence much work was handled by people who were insufficiently qualified. Dishonesty also occurred, but the culprits were punished in many cases with the utmost severity. As France may have to pay a large part, and possibly the principal part, of repairing, the French Government has done its utmost to prevent incompetence and fraud. However, Governments are not omnipotent.

THE "BLACK SHAME"

France has frequently been accused of deliberately humiliating Germany by quartering black soldiers on the country, and encouraging them to indulge in vices of every kind. As France has desired and still desires to obtain the Rhine frontier, and as she was not given the lands west of the Rhine at Versailles, she can obtain them only if the Rhenish people secede from Germany and voluntarily attach themselves to France in some way or other. Hence, it was in France's interest to attach to herself by bonds of affection the population of the occupied districts. The French would have hurt only themselves by ill-treating the Germans of the Rhenish lands. As a matter of fact, the French have treated the Germans among whom they live with every consideration. The German propaganda accusing the French, and particularly the colored troops, of the most horrible crimes is based on fiction. The Manchester Guardian is a leading English paper which specializes in advocating unpopular causes. It opposed the alliance with Russia during the war, and took Germany's part immediately after its conclusion. Professor Keynes unceasingly advocates a pro-German policy in its col-

umns. Yet, in an article on the occupied Rhineland, published on Sept. 29, 1922, we read:

A large proportion of the French troops are colored. The German Government and press have brought serious charges against these colored troops. The "Schwarze Schmach," or the "Black Shame," has become the heavy artillery of German Nationalist propaganda. A League for the Protection of German Women has been founded at Munich. It publishes pamphlets and articles with grim stories of brutal negroes terrorizing German civilians and assaulting German women. This propaganda is not justified by the facts. The "negroes" are mostly Senegalese. They are big, good-natured children. They do not like to be alone, but walk about in pairs or groups, and are fond of playing with German children. They delight in gaudy objects, and adorn their fingers with cheap aluminum rings. It is true that German women have been assaulted by them, but not more than might be expected from any army, whether white or black, nor is it probable that the initiative was invariably taken by the negro. The German Government has published the evidence of the "Black Shame" in an official pamphlet. The evidence is quite worthless.

Complaints against the occupying troops emanate almost exclusively from the unoccupied districts, which are treated to fairy tales. In the Rhineland itself the people are happy and satisfied. I have traveled through the occupied districts and discussed the subject with people of all ranks, and have heard general praise of the French soldiers and officers, who were very favorably compared with the arrogant German officers of the past. As to the "Schwarze Schmach," German men, and especially German women, bitterly complain about German girls molesting French officers and soldiers, and especially colored soldiers. It seems that negroes have a particular fascination for certain depraved white women. French officers have complained about their soldiers, and especially their colored soldiers, being pestered by German girls. If a German woman is surprised with a colored soldier, or if consequences occur which cannot be explained away, the excuse of threats and outrage is frequently advanced. Being in a foreign country, the French officers wish to maintain the strictest discipline. The punishment of French soldiers who have molested or attacked Germans is not only severe, but ruthless. The troops are,

on the whole, extremely well behaved and deservedly popular with the people.

The Manchester Guardian article previously quoted states:

The smiling good nature of the Senegalese makes them rather popular with the Germans, particularly with children. * * * All the colored troops are under very rigorous discipline. The common German assertion that they are not punished for the offenses they commit against German civilians is quite untrue. They are, in fact, liable to punishments far heavier than those meted out to white soldiers. Altogether the discipline of the French troops, whether white or colored, is extremely good, and considering how the enormous garrison must necessarily come into everyday contact with the civilian population in the overcrowded streets, shops, trams and houses, it is remarkable that so few serious incidents occur. Drunkenness among the troops is far less common in the French than in the British and American area.

An outcry has been raised that the French have established brothels for their soldiers in the occupied zone. That charge is perfectly correct. It must be remembered, however, that these unsavory institutions have been deliberately established by the authorities in practically all European countries except Great Britain, with a view to localize vice rather than let it roam at large. The managers and occupants are licensed and controlled by officials, doctors, and so forth. All over unoccupied Germany licensed houses of ill-fame are found. When traveling through the occupied zone I went to Cologne, which is under British control. In the centre of the town, close to the bridge and the great cathedral, I came across a lane at the entrance of which there was an inscription that British soldiers were forbidden to enter it, and British military police kept watch outside. I went through it and discovered that all the houses were crowded with women undressed except for transparent chemises, and in even more scanty dress, and saw sights which would be inconceivable in France or in the German towns garrisoned by the French.

Complaints about huge bureaucratic staffs introduced by the French and about deliberate waste and undue demands for accommodation, furniture, and so on, are grossly and deliberately exaggerated. The staff of the Rhineland High Commission had to be greatly increased in accordance with its vastly increased duties.

FRENCH FEARS JUSTIFIED

The great characteristic of Germany's attitude toward the victorious nations, and especially toward France, is determined and sullen resistance. The great majority of the Germans hope to overthrow their conquerors as they did in 1813. With this object in view Germany refused to disarm. Only the sharpest ultimata could induce Germany to hand over millions of rifles, tens of thousands of cannon and machine guns two years after the war. Resistance to allied, and especially French, demands is being preached all over Germany. Countless secret organizations have been founded with this object in view. The politicians who wished to carry out the Peace Treaty have been murdered. Under the lead of the Government the entire press is stating unceasingly that the war was forced upon Germany, that the assertion of Germany's guilt is a lie, that the admission of Germany's responsibility in the Treaty of Versailles was extorted by threats and is therefore invalid, that Germany is neither legally nor morally obliged to pay reparations.

The disarmament problem still remains serious. Germany has been disarmed only in part. In the reactionary districts, especially in Bavaria and the eastern provinces, vast quantities of arms and ammunition are still concealed. The Russian armament works, which have been reorganized by Germans, in the opinion of many Frenchmen may furnish Germany with arms and munitions. Flying machines and the powerful chemical industries of Germany may provide new and most terrible weapons. In view of the irreconcilable attitude of Germany and the unsettled state of Europe the French have hesitated to reduce their army as much as they would have liked to do. They do not wish to see their country invaded or the European settlement overthrown. Among the developments which Frenchmen dread most is the possibility of Poland's overthrow by a hostile Russia and of a Russo-German union which might be strong enough to tear up the peace treaties and bring about a renewal of the World War.

GERMAN PARTIES SINCE THE REVOLUTION

By THOMAS H. DICKINSON

An up-to-date analysis of the chief groups that are striving for mastery of Germany—What each party stands for and how the older ones have changed since the war—Reactionary tendencies

THE true condition of events in Germany is today naturally largely concealed behind a smoke screen of confused policies and propaganda. In these circumstances it may be profitable to study in detail the present organization of German political parties and their relation to corresponding groups of pre-revolutionary times. In the following outline the italicized name is the official name of the party:

BOURGEOIS PARTIES

1. *Deutschnationale Volkspartei*—A conservative, chauvinistic group uniting all parties of the former right wing, conservative, free conservative and anti-semitic groups. The prevailing influence is from extreme right. The party is militaristic and pledged to monarchy.

2. *Deutsche Volkspartei*—A moderate liberal chauvinistic group, composed of the right wing of the former national liberals. In this party the influence of industrial capital is strong; it is the party of Stinnes. The party is pledged to monarchism.

3. *Centrum Partei*—In the main this represents the old party weakened by the loss of the Poles and the Alsace-Lorrainians. This party has suffered a split in the deflection of the Bavarian group to form the *Bayerische Volkspartei*. It has no real platform, follows a policy of opportunism, and is strongly influenced by the Catholic Church.

4. *Deutsche Demokratische Partei*—This is strictly a liberal group formed by the union of the progressives and the left wing of the national liberals. In the beginning the party was pacifist in tendency; today the pacifist influence is small. The party of Jewish capitalists, democratic republicans, it is in favor of private enterprise.

PROLETARIAN PARTIES

1. *Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands*—This is the old Social Democratic Party: it is socialistic on a democratic basis.

2. *Unabhängige Sozialistische Partei Deutschlands (Independent Socialist Party)*—This party split from the old party in 1916; it was pro-

nounced in its policy of opposition to the war. After the revolution of 1918 it tended toward sovietism and dictatorship. In 1920 it split into about equal parts, the left wing joining the Communists; in the remaining wing there has been noticeable a tendency toward collaboration with the Social Democratic Party. These two parties have now joined again.

3. *Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands (Communist Party)*—This party is affiliated with the Third Internationale in Moscow; it rejects democracy and stands for centralized dictatorship—dictatorship of leaders.

4. *Kommunistische Arbeiter Partei Deutschlands (Communist Labor Party)*—This body is opposed to the centralization of dictatorship represented by the Communist Party; it is a national bolshevist, anti-parliamentarian party, and is for the dictatorship of the masses.

Such are the main parties represented in the German Reichstag. The total number of seats in the Reichstag is 469. With respect to attitude toward the republic or monarchy the members of the Reichstag fall into three groups, according as they belong to parties—(a) pledged to the republic, (b) pledged to the principle of monarchy, (c) non-committal. The first group, pledged to the republic, commands 194 votes, distributed as follows: Communist Parties, 25; Independent Socialist Party, 61; Social Democratic Party, 108.

The second group, pledged to monarchism, commands 161 votes. Of these the *Deutschnationale Volkspartei* has 71, the *Deutsche Volkspartei* has 65, the *Bayerische Bauernbund* and the *Bayerische Volkspartei*, split from the *Centrum*, have respectively 4 and 20. One monarchist repudiates affiliation with any party.

This leaves the balance of power in the third or non-committal group. That group commands 112 votes, of which the Democrats control 40 and the *Centrum* (Catholic) group represents 72 votes.

It will be noticed that in whatever way one may regard the alignment of political parties in Germany it will be found to be an alignment giving full sway to policies of compromise and opportunism. Particularly in external affairs the party system of Germany is so adjusted as to permit the readiest reaction, to the advantage of Germany, to any new development in external conditions. Manifestly this mercurial quality is a disadvantage when it comes to the formulation and furthering of any strong and consistent policy.

As has been said a part of this strategic alignment of political parties in Germany since the revolution is to be explained by external pressure. But part of the explanation goes back beyond the treaties of Versailles, beyond even the outbreak of the war, and is to be found in the settling down and disintegration of the old parties which had been created following the revolution of 1848. This movement concerns almost entirely the conservative parties, as the so-called proletarian parties are of recent growth and have been able to follow a more or less definite and consistent course. It is, therefore, to the conservative group that we must now direct our attention.

NATIONAL PEOPLE'S PARTY

Strictly speaking, the revolution of 1918 left only one Conservative Party in Germany. This *Deutschnationale Volkspartei* (German National People's Party) gathers together the remains of the old Conservative Party, which had been established in 1848 to abolish the achievements of the revolution of that year. In the seventy years which had followed the organization of this party around the *Kreuzzeitung* (newspaper) the party had undergone many vicissitudes. Begun as a pure party of the nobility, with the aim of abolishing all the achievements of the '48 revolution, individual freedom, the Constitution, and so on, the party had maintained itself in power by means of the three-class electoral system of Prussia until 1857. In the 1858 election the party was defeated, and the number of its representatives in Parliament was cut from 240 to about 60. In 1862 the Conservatives had only 11 members in Parliament.

Opportunist always, even making various vain attempts to secure the help of the working classes in the early '60s, the old Conservative Party of Germany seemed always to work under an evil genius. With no consistent policy except that of blunt-headed opposition, in each period it contrived to oppose the dominating will of the period. But it always came around to espouse the winning cause at the moment when that cause was preparing to pass into eclipse. In this way this party always carried the odium of discarded policies with the inception of which it had had nothing to do.

From the start the party held itself against imperialism and national feelings. In 1848 and in 1871 it opposed attempts to bring about a federation of all Germany. It also opposed the colonial and maritime policy of Germany. But in 1876 the party was reorganized to stand for the majesty of the empire, and soon afterward it became a convert to the great army and great navy idea. Thenceforward, from 1878 onward, the party waxed strong as the representative of the dominating policy of the empire. It became the representative of the agrarians, with its stronghold in the *Bund der Landwirte* (Farmers' League). This bund established a basis of equality of interest between the Junkers and the big and middle farmers. The principle of a strong and sturdy nationalism, based on the self-interest of certain dependable classes, became the ruling principle of the German State. Bismarck changed his policy from free trade to protection.

The path of absolutism lay straight and wide ahead, with apparently no obstructions to mar the triumphant march of the empire. In 1892 the so-called Tivoli program was adopted, its main tenets being: The Church and State are institutions ordered by God; the monarchy formed by the grace of God must not be violated by mortal hands; the State must be ruled by authority and not by democracy. In furtherance of this program the party pledged itself to advocate a system of voting based upon different grades and values for different professions.

This program aroused no significant opposition. Strange to say, the only opposition in the ranks of the dominating

conservative parties of the end of the nineteenth century and the first years of the new century came from the groups of the radical conservatives, who claimed to see in the professions of their brothers too heavy a trend toward liberalism. In these classes were the Junkers and the anti-Semites.

With a genius for being out of accord with the spirit of the time, the old Conservative Party of Germany represented to the letter everything that was anathema to the revolution of 1918. The revolution caused the annihilation of the old party. What was left was gathered together under the *Deutschnationale Volkspartei*, in which chauvinism and anti-Semitism are combined with a burning desire for revenge for the loss of the war and the indignities of the Versailles Treaty.

The main aims of the new party are the reconstruction of the old predominating position of Germany in the world and the re-establishment of the monarchy. In the days immediately after the revolution of 1918 the party carefully avoided mention of such things as monarchy, nationalism and anti-Semitism. In 1920 there was, however, issued the "*Grundsätze der Deutschnationalen Volkspartei*," which called, among other things, for a new and strong "*Reich*," including all the territory ceded by the Versailles Treaty; the alteration of the Versailles Treaty, whether by violent or peaceful means, the platform does not say; a Parliament based upon graded values of the vote according to professions; the renewing and re-establishment of the empire founded by the Hohenzollerns; compulsory service in the army, the fostering of the old military tradition, and the re-establishment of the old navy.

The party's most important propaganda weapon against the republic and democracy is anti-Semitism. One plank in the platform demands that party adherents guard against "the disintegrating un-German spirit" and against the "predominance of Jews in the Government and in public life." The party takes a stand in favor of religion and religious education. Though largely Protestant, it includes a Catholic group. Economically, of course, the party is pledged to the system of private capital.

It nevertheless makes some concessions to the new spirit of the time in the acceptance of the principle of universal, secret franchise, and of the political equality of men and women.

MORE LIBERAL GROUPS

The party we have been studying represents the last vestige of organized reaction in Germany; it is the party of the submerged conservatives, embattled, entrenched, ever losing ground, and ever seizing every chance that offers to make profit out of the division of counsels in the opposing groups. There remain to be studied other bourgeois groups which are more liberal, and which, starting as conservative parties, have been affected by new events and new social and political thinking. These parties represent in one form or another the wave of free liberalism—as distinguished from class discontent—that developed all over the world during the last half century. Though they were the strongest numerically, they were held down in the time of the empire. Their intelligence had full scope, but not their programs. The Liberals were the hope of Germany, and are today. But today they are severely pressed by the proletarian parties.

From 1848 onward two currents have been noticeable in the liberal groups of Germany. On the one side are the moderates, on the other the radical liberal groups. In the first are the great capitalists and captains of industry. Conscious that they represent only a small minority, and that the gulf is widening between themselves and the workers, they stand opposed to the granting of privileges to the working class. On the other hand, the radical liberals, representing the small capitalists and industrials, seek by coalition with the masses to strengthen themselves against the larger industrial interests.

At the time of the meeting of the German National Assembly in St. Paul's Cathedral at Frankfurt in 1848, both wings were of equal strength. In the following year reaction was victorious, and the more democratic group disappeared entirely. Moderate liberalism dominated Parliament until 1860, and was then replaced by the more radical Progressive Party, which held power until 1866.

Finally defeated by Bismarck, it was followed by the National Liberal Party, which, though nationalistic, was anti-military, and favored free trade and the Manchester policy. This party was in power until 1878.

In 1880 came the break-up of the National Liberal Party. The group carrying the party name tended more and more to reaction, voting always for military budgets, protection and the anti-Socialist laws. The seceding wing united with the remnants of the Progressives and formed the *Freisinnige Volkspartei* (Free-Thinking People's Party).

It is worthy of note as characteristic of the party systems of Germany and of other countries that whenever a change is made in party organization the new group, in taking a name, always assumes the name of a "people's party." As most of these changes came from the settling down of the older Liberal parties into reactionary tendencies, the name "*Volkspartei*," which serves both wings, is noncommittal, to say the least, and often cloaks Conservative policies. The Right wing now calls itself the *Deutsche Volkspartei*, as distinguished from the *Freisinnige Volkspartei* of the Left.

In order to show the unfailing gravitation of both parties to the Right, the former from mild liberalism to reaction, the latter from a radical liberalism to the middle-of-the-road, it may be well to summarize their positions during the last forty years and to show the attitudes they have taken in the organization of the republic. After the break-up of the Liberal Party in 1880 the *Deutsche Volkspartei* became more and more dependent upon the Rhinish captains of industry. At the same time it became imperialistic, chauvinistic and anti-democratic; it voted against the Equal Franchise bill. During the war the party supported the annexationist policy, remained outside of the war coalition of Social Democrats, Centrum and *Volkspartei*, and in the Commons hindered the inauguration of free, direct and secret suffrage.

During the last year of the war the *Deutsche Volkspartei* was weak, but after the revolution it was reinforced from the Moderate Conservatives and from the Right

wing of the Democrats. It now becomes, like the *Deutschnationale Partei*, monarchistic and counter-revolutionary. The platform of the party demands that its adherents aim at an "empire secured by Constitution and legal enactments" and the "re-establishment of the glorious colors of the empire—black, white and red." The party stands for the maintenance of German honor against the nation's enemies, anti-Semitism and religious instruction in the schools. In industrial matters it is conservative in its expressions, holding a nice balance between the claims of capital and labor; in practice it has given itself over to the industrial capitalism of Stinnes.

The *Deutsche Freisinnige Partei* started its career by opposing the protectionist and social policies of Bismarck; it also opposed the military budget. Little support was enlisted for its aims, and its membership in Parliament declined from 104 to 32 votes. Capitalistic and imperialistic currents found their way into the party, as a result of which schism occurred in the party in 1893, which lasted until 1910, when the two groups reunited and called themselves the *Fortschrittliche* (Progressive) *Volkspartei*. During the war the party joined the coalition for the *Verstaendigungsfrieden* (peace by understanding) with the Social Democrats and Centrum. After the 1918 revolution the party was reconstituted under the name of the *Deutsche Demokratische Partei*.

The platform of the new party recognizes the Weimar Constitution and pledges itself to safeguard it. This is an innovation, as before the revolution none of the liberal parties had been pledged to a republic or even clearly to a democracy. In foreign policy the party strives for the revision of the Versailles and St. Germain peace treaties; it believes in a league of free nations if Germany is admitted with equal rights. In economic affairs it stands for private property; it favors the control or even expropriation of trusts with compensation—but rejects socialization.

AIMS OF THE CENTRUM

Besides these parties, which represent, however vacillatingly, concrete policies, the Centrum is more like a Parliament in itself, composed of various elements. Its

chief function is not to get anything done, but to hold its ranks together so that their united force may be employed as nearly as possible in behalf of the common interest of its members. It has an industrial wing, an agrarian wing, a middle class wing and a working class wing. Until recently the party has accomplished its purpose well; recent events have caused a deflection in Bavaria, and the same influences are working elsewhere.

It is essential to the character of this party that it may stand for any policy. It may be monarchistic, republican, conservative, democratic, for or against the Government; it is always Catholic and clerical. This character of the party has made it peculiarly serviceable in recent emergencies. With the success of the Socialists in 1912, the Centrum suffered the first considerable diminution of strength in forty years. But the war brought it its opportunity. Under the leadership of Erzberger it had a decisive influence in the coalition and in the half-parliamentarian Cabinet of Count Hertling; also in the parliamentary Cabinet of Max of Baden.

After the war the party tried to change its name and to enter into affiliation with the Protestant circles. Brief experience showed that it could be most successful by following its time-honored policies. Nothing is less important than the platform of the Centrum. As long as Erzberger was alive the party was governed by a policy of conciliation, pacifism and Christian principles. Since his death it is still governed by those principles, but it lacks his firm and energetic hand in action.

One of the most interesting develop-

ments in the German party system is the secession of the Bavarian group, which left the Centrum Party as a result of the centralization policy of Erzberger. The new party, the Bayerische Volkspartei, is independent in its demands, asserting the right of each of the federated German States to decide its own form of government and its constitution, and the right to sign agreements with foreign powers. Obviously, the intent of this party is the re-establishment of the monarchy.

The history of political parties in Germany since the revolution of 1848 has been one of consistent movement from left to right. In most cases this movement has resulted, at some point, in a schism between two opposed wings of the party, now one and now the other carrying the old party designation. But in every case the more radical of the two parties itself goes through the same process before many years have passed. Once having broken free from their more liberal associates, the others tend further and further toward reaction.

Recent events have given a strong impetus to reaction in German political parties. This spirit is by no means fully revealed on the face of the returns. While the bourgeois parties are manoeuvring for position, playing the game of opportunism, the parties of the proletariat, so called, are following a simpler but no less effective procedure. Fastening boldly upon definite ends, permitting their aims to be confused by no side issues, the proletarian parties have a history of far greater consistency of management than the bourgeois parties. Which group will win the victory it is not on the cards to prophesy

THE NEW TURKEY

By CLAIR PRICE

The Nationalist regime, now headed by Mustapha Kemal, to be the permanent Government of Turkey and to remain in Asia—Ottoman Caliphate, stripped of political power, to remain in Constantinople—Turkey now, a republic in everything but name

THE Turkish Nationalist Government of Angora, with which the Allies and Greece are negotiating peace in the Near East, is the permanent and not merely the interim Government of Turkey. The Ottoman Caliphate, stripped of all political prerogatives in Turkey, is to remain in Constantinople, and the Turkish Government—the Government of the Grand National Assembly is its official title—is to remain in Asia Minor.

The Sultanate has apparently come to an end and Turkey has become a republic in all but name. The Ottoman dynasty remains the possessor of the Caliphate, the symbol of Islam's unity in a world six-sevenths of which is non-Islamic. Islam's unity is by no means a fact in many Islamic questions, but the events of the last four years have shown that when Islam as a whole feels itself threatened from without, it does tend to show a striking unity.

By leaving Constantinople the Turkish Government escapes the Levantine demoralization for which the city on the Bosphorus has long been notorious. It will also find it possible to escape from the recognition of the various Christian communities which have become small Governments within themselves and whose hostility to the Ottoman Government the Turk has found the bane of his existence. The strongest of these communities, that of the orthodox communicants whose head is the Ecumenical Patriarch at the Phanar in Constantinople, broke off its relations with the Ottoman Government on March 9, 1919, and that section of its Turkish-speaking communicants which found itself under the rule of the Nationalist Government in Asia Minor was ready on March 1 last to affiliate with the Nationalists. It

now becomes possible, however, that the Government of the Grand National Assembly will recognize no faith except the established faith of Islam, just as the British Government recognizes no faith but that of the Established Church of England. This step on the part of the Nationalists would not menace religious liberty in Turkey, but it would mark the end of the ancient community system by which each dissenting faith is set apart to rule itself under its own religious laws. It would reduce the Christian communities from bodies of a mixed political, commercial and religious character to purely religious bodies, and would afford the country the first opportunity it has known for a century to work out its internal unity.

Whether the transfer of the Turkish Government from Europe to Asia will involve the transfer of the diplomatic corps as well is still problematic. Thus far the Russian, Azerbaijan and Afghan "Ambassadors" at Angora have been accredited to the President of the Government of the Grand National Assembly. The allied High Commissioners at Constantinople have been accredited to nobody.

Thus the Turkish split, which dates from the action of Damad Ferid Pasha, Grand Vizier of the Constantinople Government, in declaring Mustapha Kemal Pasha an outlaw on July 11, 1919, is at last resolved by the complete abdication of the Constantinople Government. It is hardly to be assumed, however, that the Government of the Grand National Assembly, which now becomes the sole Government of Turkey, will remain at Angora. That town is malarial in the hot weather and lacks easily the available wood and water which are essential to the creation

of an important capital. Representatives of Konia and Caesarea have been busily campaigning at Angora, but the permanent fixation of the new Turkish capital will be deferred until after the peace settlement. Eski-Shehr, at the junction of the Bagdad Railway and the Angora branch, is nearer to Constantinople than either Konia or Caesarea and has a strong chance to be chosen as the future capital.

In these circumstances it may be interesting to scrutinize the structure of the new Government of Turkey. Soon after its convocation on April 23, 1920, the Grand National Assembly passed a "Law of Fundamental Organization," which may be regarded for the time being as its Constitution. It is doubtless wise to regard paper constitutions, enacted in times of revolution, with caution, and Angora's Constitution is quoted with all reserve:

THE LAW OF FUNDAMENTAL ORGANIZATION

ARTICLE 1.—Sovereignty belongs to the nation without reservation or condition. The administration of the nation's sovereignty is based on the principle of the direct decision of the people.

ARTICLE 2.—The executive power as well as the legislative power are concentrated in the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, which alone represents the nation.

ARTICLE 3.—Turkey is governed by the Grand National Assembly, and its Government is entitled "the Government of the Grand National Assembly."

ARTICLE 4.—The Grand National Assembly is composed of members elected by the inhabitants of the vilayets [States].

ARTICLE 5.—The election of members of the Grand National Assembly takes place once in every two years. The duration of membership is two years only. Members may be re-elected. The Assembly continues its session until the new Assembly is convened. In case it is impossible to hold new elections, the session of the Assembly may be prolonged for one year only. Each member of the Grand National Assembly represents not only his vilayet, but is also a representative of the nation.

ARTICLE 6.—The general session of the Grand National Assembly takes place on the first of November without convocation.

ARTICLE 7.—Fundamental rights, such as the enactment dispositions of the Sheriat [Moslem religious law], the making, modification and abrogation of laws, the conclusion of conventions and treaties of peace, and the call for the defense of the country, belong to the Grand National Assembly. The making of laws shall be based on principles of jurisprudence which are most closely adapted to the needs of the nation and to the requirements of its customs and habits. The pow-

ers and duties of the council of mandatory Ministers of the nation shall be determined by special laws.

ARTICLE 8.—The Grand National Assembly administers its governmental departments through mandatory Ministers elected by the Assembly, according to rules to be provided in a special law. It is the Grand National Assembly which instructs the mandatory Ministers in executive matters and if necessary changes the Ministers.

ARTICLE 9.—The President elected by the Grand National Assembly in plenary session is the President of the Assembly during one electoral period. In this capacity he is authorized to sign and ratify the decisions of the council of mandatory Ministers in the name of the Assembly.

ARTICLE 10.—In accordance with geographical and economic requirements, Turkey is divided into vilayets [States], the vilayets into cazas [counties], the cazas into nahihs [townships].

ARTICLE 11.—In local matters the vilayet has an autonomous personality. With the exception of internal and external policy, the Sheriat, justice, military affairs, international economic relations, Government imposts and inter-vilayet matters, the vilayets are charged with the administration, under laws to be promulgated by the Grand National Assembly, of the Evkaf [Moslem religious endowments], educational institutions, sanitary services, local economics, agriculture, public works and social services.

ARTICLE 12.—The vilayet councils are composed of members elected by the inhabitants of their respective vilayets. The terms of office of the councils are two years only, and the duration of their annual sessions is two months.

ARTICLE 13.—The vilayet council chooses from among its members a President and an administrative committee. The President is the executive chief. The administrative committee is composed of the heads of each administrative department. The executive power in the vilayet belongs to this committee, which sits continuously.

ARTICLE 14.—The vali [head of vilayet] represents the Grand National Assembly in his vilayet. He is appointed by the Government of the Grand National Assembly, and his duty is to administer the national affairs in the vilayet. The vali interferes in the administration of the vilayet only in case of conflict between national and local affairs.

ARTICLE 15.—The caza [county] is an administrative and police unit only. It is administered by a kaimakam, who is appointed by the Government of the Grand National Assembly and is under the orders of the vali.

ARTICLE 16.—In local matters, the nahihs [township], is an autonomous personality.

ARTICLE 17.—The nahihs are administered by a general council, an administrative committee and a mudir.

ARTICLE 18.—The general council of the nahihs is composed of members elected directly by its population.

ARTICLE 19.—The administrative committee and the mudir of the nahihs are elected by its general council.

ARTICLE 20.—The general council and the administrative committee of the *nahiè* are vested with juridical, economic and financial powers, the extent of which are to be fixed by special laws.

ARTICLE 21.—The *nahiè* is composed of one or more villages. A town may also constitute a *nahiè*.

ARTICLE 22.—The *vilayets* are grouped, according to their economic and social relations, in general inspection districts.

ARTICLE 23.—The duty of assuring order and security in the general inspection districts, the inspection of all the administrative services, the co-ordination and regulation of the common affairs of the *vilayets* grouped in the general inspection districts, are committed to the general inspectors, who will control the relation of national and local matters in their districts.

Whatever degree of confidence the individual reader may be disposed to accord a document of this sort, this "Law of Fundamental Organization" should not be regarded as more than the embryo from which the new Turkish Constitution is to develop. As such, however, it constitutes the Turks' belated response to those disrupting ideas of nationalism and democracy which have long permeated the Greek and Armenian communities in the old Ottoman Empire, and which have never succeeded in effectively breaking through to the surface among the Turks at Constantinople.

SULTAN NOT RECOGNIZED

A number of comments on this document suggest themselves at once. Under the old Ottoman Constitution, which made the empire a limited monarchy, it was the Sultan's prerogative to declare peace and war, to dissolve Parliament, to receive the diplomatic representatives of foreign States and to appoint the Cabinet and the Senate. But in the out-and-out republicanism of the Nationalist régime the Sultan and the Senate are alike omitted. The Cabinet is not only elected by the Assembly, but is individually responsible to it. No allocation has yet been made of the right to dissolve the Assembly, and the Assembly thus far has shown no disposition to recognize such a right. Since the battle of the Sakaria in September, 1921, at least, the Assembly has been the actual, as well as the theoretical, seat of sovereignty at Angora, and, instead of delegating secret matters to the Cabinet, it has

kept the reins in its own hands by the simple expedient of itself going into secret session when it was deemed advisable. The treaty-making power and the "call for the defense of the country" are expressly reserved to the Assembly under the new régime. Thus far no provision is made for the reception of diplomatic representatives of foreign States, unless some such provision be read into Article 2.

It must be remembered, however, that the Assembly's 1921-22 budget provides for a contribution of £T.551,012 to the civil lists of the "Sultan-Khalifa," and the silence of the "Law of Fundamental Organization" on the subject of the Sultanate may be due to a desire to avoid domestic controversy in time of war. In the Assembly there is a school of conservative opinion, led by Djellaladin Arif Bey, now the Nationalist representative at Rome, which demurs at the republicanism of the "Law of Fundamental Organization." After the coming peace, when the republican-conservative controversy in the Assembly has had opportunity to thrash itself out, there is a possibility that nationalism may take cognizance of the Ottoman Sultanate. My own opinion, however (and it is no more than an opinion), is that contributions to the imperial family's civil lists at Constantinople will hereafter be credited to the "Khalifa" (Caliph) as distinct from the "Sultan-Khalifa." This opinion is based largely on the implacable hatred of the present Sultan which prevails at Angora. It needs to be remembered that Turkish nationalism exists today in spite of every effort which the Sultan's Government in Constantinople could exert to break it. *Yeni-Gun*, one of Angora's two dailies, once reflected Angora's feeling when it published photographs of the Sultan and Constantine side by side, entitling the photographs: "Two goods friends of ours."

On Angora's lips the name of Constantinople smacks of capitulations, of the bitter hostility of its Christian communities, of the demoralizing political influence of Levantinism. In Angora's mind Constantinople is the source of most of the evils which brought the old Ottoman Empire down to its end in 1918. The

very word is a reminder of those foreign irredentisms which hopelessly divided the Ottoman population. Stamboul will always be precious to the Turks, but it is in Asia Minor that they have tasted the first actual independence they have known since the Ottoman decline set in, and I believe that they will not again hand over their destinies to a Sultanate in Stamboul.

HOSTILITY TO CAPITULATIONS

It is this allegiance to its newly achieved independence which continually characterizes Angora. Any hope that the Grand National Assembly will ratify a peace treaty which proposes to continue all or a part of the capitulations, either under their own or under any new name which may be devised for them, is extremely likely to prove groundless. Thus far the foreign colonies at Constantinople have recognized that a modification of the capitulatory régime is inevitable, but are endeavoring to save at least a part of the judicial capitulations. Since Angora is apparently unanimous on the subject of the capitulations, I made an effort there to learn what, if anything, was being done toward judicial reform. Rafik Shevket Bey, Minister of Justice, told me that the number of Judges in the lower courts had been reduced from three to one in an effort to speed up the handling of cases, and that it was hoped to increase the pay of the Judges. As far as I know, this is all that has been done thus far. The Ministry of Justice, like all other civilian Ministries at Angora, is woefully undermanned and is apt to meet inquiries respecting reforms with the reminder that there was a war on. With the conditions under which that war has been waged the reminder is perhaps not an unreasonable one.

Angora is far less interested at present in the elaboration of reforms for the benefit of foreigners than in consolidating its newly achieved independence at home. It is more interested in Turkey than in Turkey's foreign residents. If there is another aspect of nationalism which impresses itself on the visitor to Angora, it is its boundless ambition for Turkey. One does not have to linger long in the Nationalist capital before hearing the magic name of

Suleiman the Magnificent. Whatever attitude of coolness one may be disposed to adopt in the presence of such illimitable plans for the development of Turkey, it is at least to be noted that the new Turkish Government does not propose to relinquish its control over the country's development. The conditions under which foreign capital is to be invited into the country after the war have not yet been announced, but I gathered that the participation of Turkish capital up to 51 per cent. was likely to be insisted upon. The tobacco Régie has already been made a State monopoly, and, although the liquor traffic is now prohibited, if revived, it, too, is apt to be conducted as a State monopoly. Hassen Tahsin Bey, Minister of Finance, told me that the public debt régime would not be esteemed incompatible with the National Pact during the period of Turkey's discharge of obligations already entrusted to the debt régime. The debt revenues have been permitted to accumulate the old Ottoman Empire. The present debt régime, however, would not be extended to foreign indebtedness contracted in the future. If a tithe of its development schemes are carried out, the Government of the Grand National Assembly will be compelled to solicit large amounts of foreign capital, but foreign capital is to be sought on the same terms as those offered by independent nations in the West.

ANGORA ENDS SULTANATE

[Since the above was written, the abolition of the Turkish Empire, as such, and the establishment of a "Government of the People and Peasants," with power centred exclusively in the Angora Assembly, were effected by a resolution passed by the Assembly on the evening of Nov. 1. The resolution was passed in two parts, the first ending the Sultanate, and the second reserving the right of the Assembly to elect the Caliph as the religious head of the Mohammedans. The text follows:

Article I.—From March 16, 1920, and for always, the Government of the nation is vested in the National Assembly. No other form of government will be recognized, and the people will

recognize no personal authority like that in Constantinople.

Article II.—The Caliphate will continue to be exercised by the Osman family, but the Assembly will choose a Prince whose moral qualities, talent and conduct suit him for the choice. The Turkish Government will be the principal rampart of the Caliphate.

The decision of the Assembly was made known to the French Foreign Office in these terms:

"The Palace of the Sublime Porte having, through corrupt ignorance, for several centuries provoked numerous ills for the country, has passed into the domain of history. Recently the Turkish Nation, the real mistress of its destinies, the founder of the Ottoman Empire, revolted against its foreign enemies in Anatolia and undertook a struggle against the Palace of the Sublime Porte, which took sides with its enemies and against the nation, and to that end it constituted the Grand National Assembly of Turkey its Government, and its army threw itself into the struggle against the enemies from without and against the Palace of the Sublime Porte.

"Today the era of liberation has at last been entered into. The Turkish Nation, in view of the treason in the Palace of the Sublime Porte, has proclaimed its own organic statute.

"Article I. of this statute stipulates that the sovereignty of the Sultan is assumed by the nation.

"By Article II. executive and legislative powers

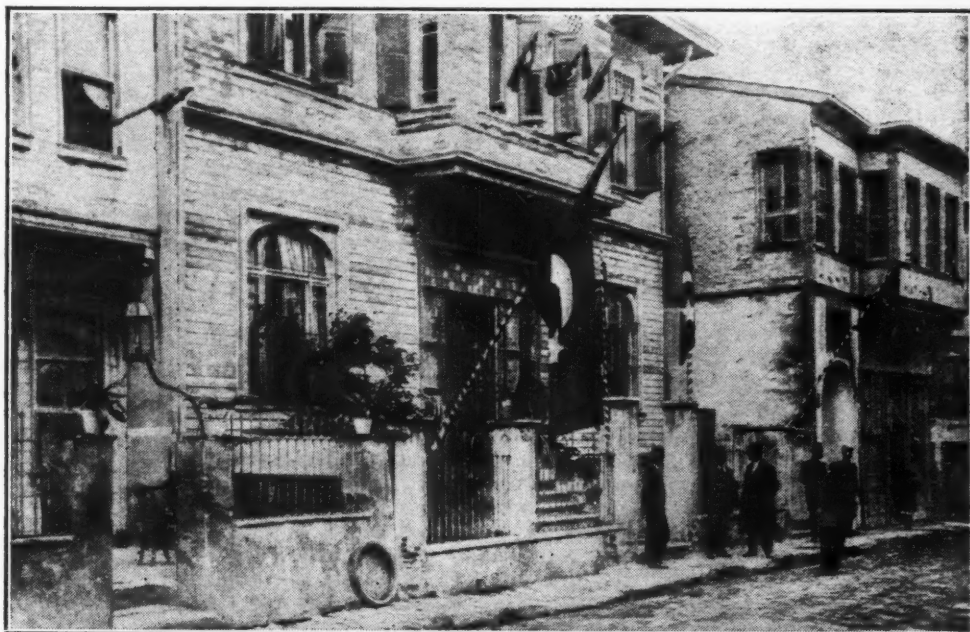
are conferred upon the nation.

"Article VII. invests the body of the nation with sovereign rights, such as the right to declare war and conclude peace. (These were formerly prerogatives of the Sultan.)

"Since then the former Ottoman Empire has collapsed, and in its place the new national Turkish State is called into being.

"Likewise, since the abolition of the Sultanate, the Grand National Assembly of Turkey has taken its place—that is to say, the Government of Constantinople, its existence being no longer supported by any national force, has ceased to exist and no longer constitutes a vital organism. The true mass of the people of the nation have instituted an administrative Government of the people, defending the rights of the true mass of the people and the peasants, guaranteeing their welfare."

All treaties and financial and other engagements entered into by the Sultan since March 16, 1920, were formally repudiated by the Angora Government in a note handed to the French Foreign Office on Nov. 3. This was clearly equivalent to the abrogation of the Sèvres Treaty. Important repercussions throughout the Moslem world were expected to follow the Angora Assembly's resolutions.]



(© Underwood & Underwood)

This is the house at Mundania, Asia Minor, the residence of Ismeah Pasha, representing Turkish Nationalist Government, where delegates of the Allies and Turks met to negotiate terms for an armistice. The closing of the Dardanelles and the ultimatum to the Allies in Constantinople have since the meeting at Mundania precipitated a new crisis

INDIA TURNS AWAY FROM GANDHI

By MAURICE JOACHIM

Internal evidence that popular sentiment in India, even among Gandhi's followers, is undergoing a marked change—Forces that are working for a saner view of governmental reform

[The author of this article is a native Indian of noble birth, a graduate of Oxford University, and now a resident of the United States. He belongs to the Indian thinkers who believe that India's best way leads through evolution, rather than revolution, and that progress toward self-government in India can be made only through gradual parliamentary reform.—EDITOR.]

IN spite of the popularization of Gandhi's antediluvian economics, a spirit of moral courage and logical thinking still survives among the people of India. Gandhi's economics, like his politics, are being thoroughly discredited, and doubting souls are troubled over the actual form of government that they will have if Swaraj [home rule] ever materializes. They also seem to be at a loss to conceive what will remain in India after the demolition of the present structure of government. They therefore hesitate to work unless their doubt is cleared, having had the opportunity to see certain concrete results of Gandhi's teaching. There has been a decided drop in the political mercury throughout India, and the reason for this fall from fever heat to normal temperature may be attributed to several causes.

For one thing Gandhism, as practiced by his followers ever since the incarceration of their leader, seems to be hopelessly contradictory in its principles. One extraordinary feature of the more 'fiercely Nationalistic movements in India is that they are mixed up with other movements toward Universal Brotherhood. Nationalism, however, connotes a limited view. All the catchphrases of the extremists, such as "India for the Indians," "Cut

adrift from the empire," and so on, imply in those who utter them, not a tendency to look upon humanity as a whole, but a desire to break away both from the British Empire and from the common civilization which it suggests. The present generation is already faced with a severe struggle for existence with the better equipped races pouring in from outside. What will be the fate of the coming generation in India, taught by Gandhi at its most impressionable age that the art of hand spinning is the road to prosperity, while others are being taught to buy in the cheapest market, and told that the individual cannot compete against machinery? The catchwords and political phrases of Gandhi are no defense against men equipped with discipline and education. If India cannot live without catchwords, let her consider such phrases as the "struggle for existence" or the "survival of the fittest," which enshrine great scientific truths.

Further, as a result of the abnormal excitement following on Gandhi's vigorous attempts at disrupting the system of government, robberies were rampant all over the small towns and districts of the country; life and property were insecure, and it was impossible to remain out of doors in the evening. The robber element became emboldened. The illiterate bad characters took it into their heads that the prestige of the British Government was at an end, and that there was no one to bring them to account for what they did. Confusion prevailed, and the practical results of the Swaraj movement became visible.

These results are what the doubting souls all over India have observed from their own experience to be the first fruits of Swaraj. Gandhi frequently informed them by implication or express statement that the fully developed product toward which he was directing his energies included "the demolition of the present structure of government." It is not surprising that some difference is exhibited in working any longer for an ideal which produces such results, and apparently is intended to produce no others. The only weapons which Gandhi has utilized are, on the one hand, a vague idealism which contributes nothing to the work of construction, and, on the other, the denunciation of a régime which, in the opinion of all save those who are completely blinded by racial prejudices, has achieved something for India.

Gandhi described the present Government as a superimposed structure having no organic relation with the life of the people. Its unnecessary interference and aggressive assertiveness (sometimes he reproached it on the grounds of its inertia

and indifference to the life of the people) were declared by him to be merely another name for super-government. He asserted that the object of education under the existing régime has been to Anglicize India; of the courts to spread the influence of British law; of commerce to advance British trade interests; of the revenue system to maintain a topheavy bureaucracy; of the army and police to repress the people into meek submissiveness. With all these things India was to have nothing to do, and the people were assured that the success of Gandhi's régime would lie in "its smooth and unperceived working, like the breath of the human system, holding together, organizing and utilizing the different elements of society."

LIBERALS VS. EXTREMISTS

It is to be feared that India's practical minds will need something more tangible than these dreams before they readdress themselves to the task of non-co-operation. The difference between the much-condemned British Government and the régime of Swaraj consists of the fact that, while

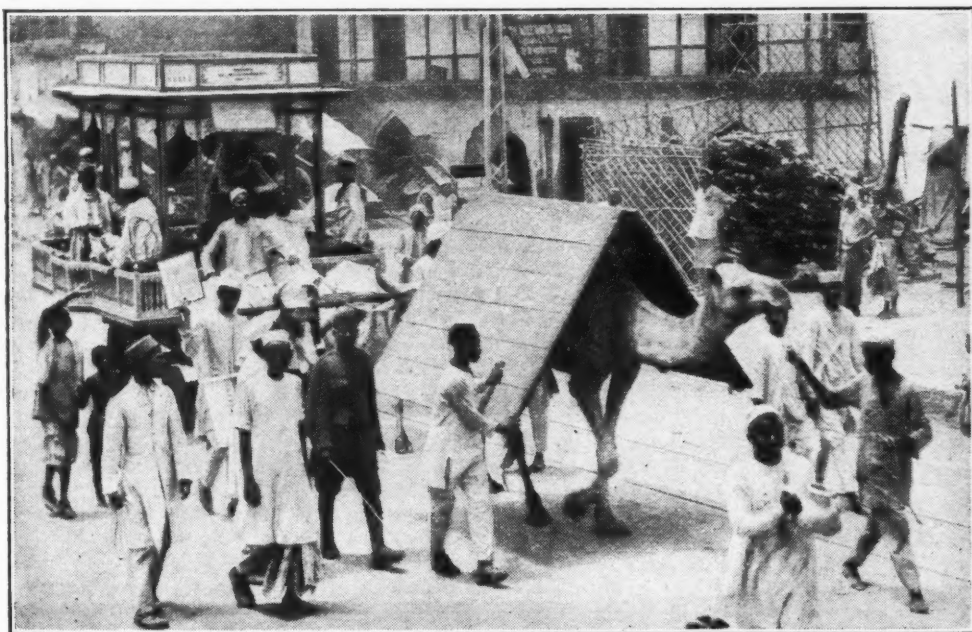


Photo International.

Some followers of Gandhi are still trying to promote his cause in ways that are within the law. In this scene the camel is carrying a billboard inscribed with inflammatory propaganda, which thus escapes the newspaper censorship.

the latter concentrates on the "demolition of the present structure" and a "revolutionary change" in the ideal of government, the former was content to evolve, from what it found, something which, whatever its defects and shortcomings, constituted and was designed to constitute a practical advance on the prevailing standards of efficiency, wealth and comfort. When an equally practical note is observable in the non-co-operators' speeches and writings, the people of India may show signs of returning to their standard. In any case, the non-co-operative element will be wise if it ceases to talk of demolition and revolutionary change. India is clearly making up her mind that at all costs she needs permanent security both of life and property, and that, if change must come, it should take the form not of revolution, but of transition, which conserves the best of all that exists, and builds the future, not on vague ideals,

but on the historic past of the country. Another very important reason for the lukewarm support now given to Gandhi teachings is the lack of unity and the conflict of political ideas existing among the dissatisfied elements in India. Since Gandhi's arrest and imprisonment, the Liberal Party has felt that, although the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms were not adequate in certain particulars, the right course was to accept them, and work them out honestly and with zeal, so as to make a very early further advance possible. The Extremist Party, on the other hand, definitely declared for non-co-operation. Its avowed aim was to make government impossible, and to end the present Government with nothing to substitute for it. When that stage came, the Liberals openly and unhesitatingly decided to part company with the Extremists, for they were convinced that the non-co-operation creed must lead the country to disaster. The

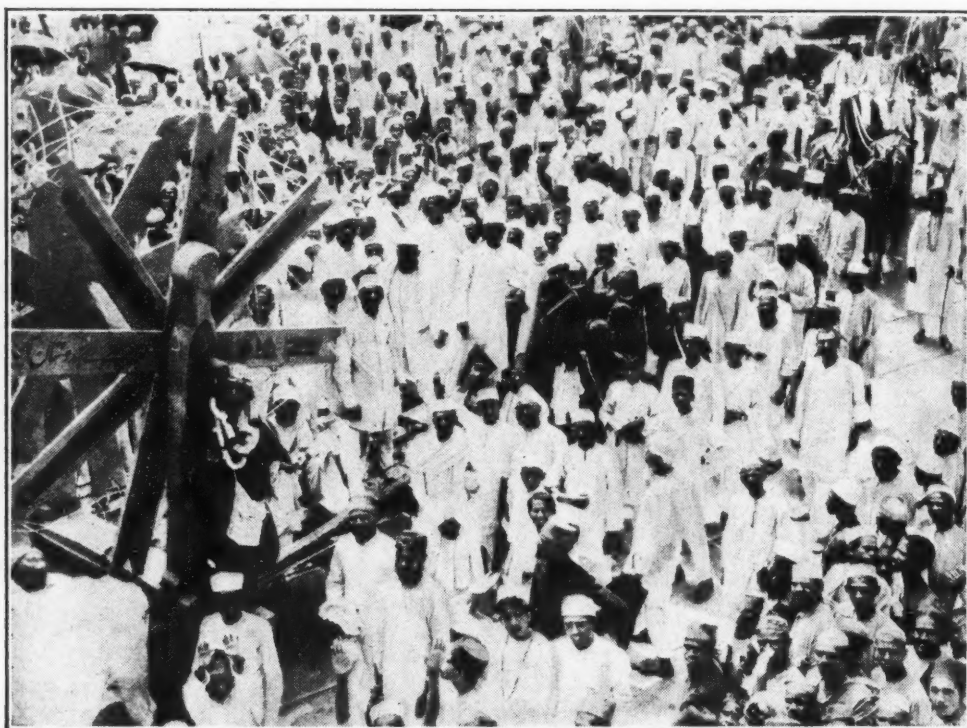


Photo International.

A Gandhi procession at Delhi, with a huge spinning wheel carried at its head as an emblem of the movement against modern machinery. All the volunteers of the non-co-operative movement wear costumes of home-woven cotton goods.

differences between these two parties are no longer about details, but are so fundamental both as to principles and methods that it is impossible for both to stand together.

The Liberal Party stood for ordered constitutional progress, to be achieved by constitutional methods, while the Extremist Party stood for destroying the existing order of things and plunging the country into confusion and anarchy. It styled itself the party of non-violent non-cooperation. It professed non-violence, but a little reflection should make it clear that the methods it adopted must inevitably lead to disorder and bloodshed. If it preaches day after day to the ordinary man in the street hatred of the established Government, if it paints the Government as "satanic," and instigates the people to break laws, to defy authority, and not to pay taxes, how can it expect to preserve non-violence? As a result, property has been wantonly destroyed and people have been ruthlessly murdered, those responsible for these deeds shouting "Mahatma-Gandhi-Ki-Jai." Still the leaders of the non-cooperation movement did not grow wiser even by such bitter experience, but went on in their mad career. Each tragic event gave them a shock; they paused for a moment, made penance by observing a few days' fast, and then started again to apply the nostrums of non-cooperation and civil disobedience, with the certainty of still more serious and tragic results.

The non-co-operation party has mainly achieved destruction. It is always easy to destroy; it does not require the silent, hard work that is necessary for construction and improvement. With regard to education, the party did incalculable harm to the youth of the country, and practi-

cally destroyed their future by trying to empty the schools and colleges and asking the people to refuse to take advantage of the institutions maintained by their own moneys. Did Gandhi think it possible to substitute effective institutions in place of those that he asked people to boycott?

With the desire to give praise where I think praise is due, I acknowledge that the Extremist Party did good work, up to a point. When it awakened the public to political consciousness, when it roused their self-respect and patriotism, it did a great service. But instead of guiding the patriotism thus aroused into useful and

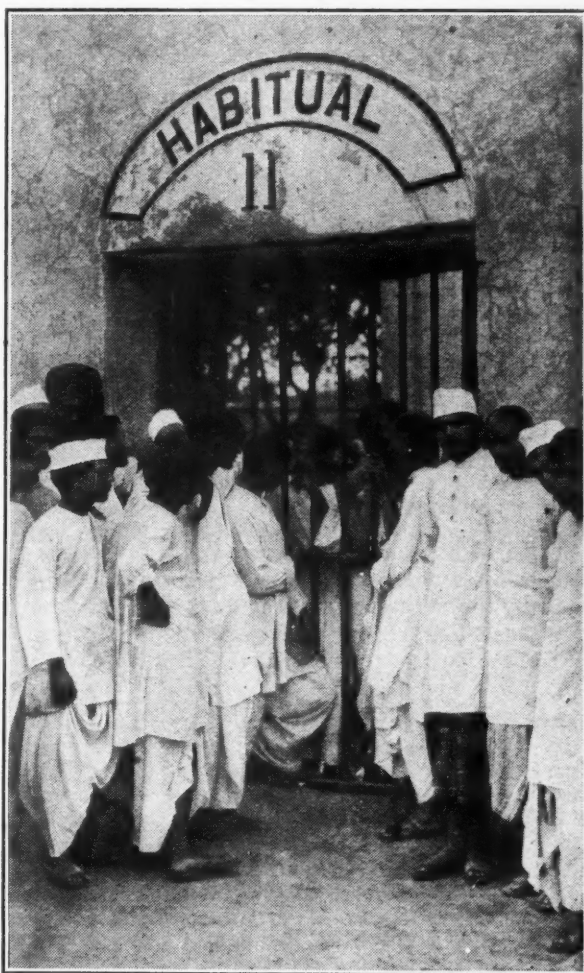


Photo International.

Gandhi's son (holding book) visiting followers of his father who are in jail at Lucknow.

constructive channels, it embarked the people on wildcat schemes of attaining Swaraj by a fixed short cut, and led them straight into disaster. The most serious mischief that the non-co-operation party has done to the best interests of the country is to create a general spirit of disobedience and lawlessness. It has struck at the foundation of all society and order, and there can only be one result of such a spirit. Gandhi has the lesson of Russia before him. Does he want the Motherland and his people to suffer in the manner that Russia has suffered and is suffering?

INDIAN CONGRESS DEJECTED

One of the most important conferences since Gandhi's imprisonment was that of the Indian Congress leaders held at Lucknow in the first week of June, 1922. Throughout its proceedings a general air of depression was noticeable. The Extremist organizers and leaders conferred together under auspices which can scarcely be described as happy. One element held aloof because it was definitely in favor of an effort to promote the operation of the new Constitution by participation in the reformed councils. The Lucknow committee had before it proposals for the withdrawal of the contribution of India's wealthiest and most progressive province to the Swaraj fund. From every district came news that the abstaining pleaders were returning to the law courts, and reports of disillusionment in regard to Congress promises; of a revulsion in feeling created by the adverse results of Congress methods and Congress aims, and of a tendency on the part of the mass of the population to question the necessity of the entire program of change with which the Congress was then associated.

Everywhere the discontent is spreading, and the people feel that the present system will have to be changed entirely, or else Gandhi's schemes will be relegated to the scrapheap of the unfulfilled. Presumably it is the object of the Congress leaders who met in conference in Lucknow to recover something of the ground which they have lost. What are the specifics by which they propose to affect an improvement in their prospects? So far as can be

observed, they have learned nothing, and remember nothing. Their Working Committee has been forced to admit that the "constructive" part of the Congress program has been ineffective. The work of compelling an unwilling population to don a coarse and uncomfortable cloth which it detests is flagging visibly. The task of preparing the mass of the population to tolerate, if not to impose, a deadlock in the Administration is proving equally barren. The committee relied, however, on the curious argument that the very failure of the constructive program justified resort to the specific of civil disobedience. Other proposals before the Congress committee have apparently included one for the extension of the already popular cloth boycott to all goods and services of British origin. These proposals apart, the meeting of the Congress leaders seems to have been entirely unproductive.

The Extremist leaders remain unimpressed by the violence which invariably results from their operations and by the public detestation aroused by them. They have failed to perceive the change in the political equilibrium caused by the constitutional developments of the last session of the new Indian Assembly. Even if the party of violence could succeed in lengthening the chain of horrors which extended from Malabar to Chauri-Chaura, it would still be true that the future lies not with the propaganda which is now feared and mistrusted by India's masses, but with the party which is learning by constitutional means to grasp the political power that has been placed within its reach by the British Government.

A STRONG MODERATE PARTY

In view of the appearance in some American papers of articles purporting to give a true story of political conditions in India, but obviously dictated by anti-Indian bias, the following letter, written by one of the American Baptist missionaries in Burma to his home town paper, will be read with interest:

I desire to call your attention to a cutting from the American papers in which a statement was made that the British residents of interior towns in India are engaged in a general exodus to the seacoast and fortified cities in fear of the revolution which Indian Nationalist leaders



Photo International.

Gandhi's wife (at the spinning wheel), continuing part of her husband's work by teaching how to spin native cloth to be used in place of the article imported from England.

have called for Dec. 26, according to dispatches made public in Washington by the American Commission to Promote Self-Government in India. Let me tell you that I have heard of no rumors of such an exodus; that we are here in our stations doing our missionary work as usual, and that should danger arise we would not be protected by Nationalist troops, for there are none here, but by British soldiers. I beg of you not to be misled by any such statements. The British Government in India has, in my estimation, been more lenient with the misdeeds of the people here than our own Government at home has been with the radicals there. Debs has had his dose of prison life, but Gandhi goes on his sweet way poisoning the minds of the people. [This was written before Gandhi's arrest.] After four years in Burma, I feel that the British Government is giving the people a good rule, has planned progressive measures to benefit the people, and I, for one, want to see the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme given a good trial over a period of years before I have a word of condemnation. I hope you will not believe all you read in the American papers about India. Take it with a large pinch of salt. It is radical propaganda, designed to catch the American public and to belittle the Government here. I doubt if the Nationalist troops—if there were any—would protect the lives of Americans, either missionaries or commercial travelers, in times of revolution. There is a scheme now under consideration in India to take the power of government gradually from the few British rulers and give it to the people. It is the greatest experiment in democracy the world has ever seen. It is carefully worked out and, backed by the promise of the Parliament, is being carried into operation day by day. Signs of awakened consciousness abound, and the Government is looking forward to the growth of a strong moderate party in which the best of the national aspirations will be realized under the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme. Success to them!

Such expressions of dissatisfaction are not confined

to Westerners in India who have realized that the country is unfit for Swaraj, but are typical also of an important section of the Indians themselves, as was shown by the case of the people of Batala—hitherto a distinct pro-Gandhi community. Two or three months ago this community organized itself and launched a campaign against the non-co-operation movement. In an open letter to the leaders of that movement, this community set forth graphically the religious persecutions and other tyrannies to which India was subjected before the advent of the British, and referred to the measures taken by the British Administration to help the fallen sections of the populace to better their status. The letter further advocated the necessity of following up gradually the even path of reform and forsaking spasmodic progress. Regarding the non-co-operation movement, they point out the disaster wrought by the Hijrat activities and the loss sustained by boycotting the schools. The letter then referred to the constructive program of the Congress, exposed the futility of all its items, and declared that they were all devised to spread hatred against the Government. It concluded with the assertion that the boycott of foreign cloth is a vindictive measure, injurious to the cause of progress, and the boycott of Councils a wrong principle.

Another interesting case is that of Mr. Jayaker, barrister at law. This gentleman, who is the leading advocate of the Bombay High Court, suspended practice nearly two years ago in accordance with the Congress program, but quite recently broke away from his party and resumed his practice at the bar. In a letter to the Secretary of the District Congress Committee, of which he was President, he explains his action in the following terms:

I suspended practice in order to be free to take up as a full-time worker some national work suitable to my tastes and temper. That was a time of great hopes and activity. Public enthusiasm had been greatly aroused, and some of us expected that it would be possible with its aid to reconstruct our national life on the model suited to our culture and heredity.

* * * I have failed in my endeavors owing to the opposition of some of the disrupted and reactionary forces in the movement, and perhaps some day, when the secret history of

the non-co-operation movement comes to be written, the matter will be made clear to the public. I and some of my friends waited in the hope that the Congress Committee would do something, but we have been thoroughly convinced of the futility of the program of boycott. Some change is absolutely necessary in order to save the movement from ruin and disintegration. I know the consequences of my action in resuming my practice at the bar. I am aware of the storm of opposition and obloquy my step will raise against me, but I am doing what I honestly believe to be right both in my own and my country's interest. I am averse to see brave hearts in a spirit of misguided loyalty to a futile program waste away in idleness, while their wives and children are starving at home. I am equally averse to see the Councils made use of by a farsighted bureaucracy for the purpose of weakening the national cause when, as I believe, they can be certainly utilized for creating and maintaining a patriotic impulse in the country. * * *

PLAN OF "1921" CLUBS

The absurdity of the non-co-operation program is slowly but surely dawning on the minds of India's Extremist leaders. Very recently, in a circular sent by the political sections of the "1921" Clubs of Madras and Bombay to some forty or fifty party leaders, it was stated that there was "a growing tendency toward a kind of political guerrilla warfare which shows widespread discontent with present political conditions, but is spasmodic and irregular, without concerted action toward a definite end." * * * The "1921" Clubs proposed, accordingly, to bring all these heterogeneous elements together by means of a temporary agreement, which was to include, if possible, all those who have any belief in parliamentary action as opposed to direct action. In view of the failure and collapse of the non-co-operation movement which gave India its first taste of the meaning of "direct action" in the atrocities of Bombay, Madras and Chauri-Chaura, there are many politicians in India today who are inclined to admit the superior advantages of "parliamentary action" or political agitation to the more simple but costly program of Gandhi and his disciples, and the political sections of the "1921" Clubs had this fact in view in issuing their appeal. Their proposals, however, embody a plan so drastic and far-reaching that they deserve special attention here.



Photo International.

Gandhi's wife (marked with X) and some of her followers.

"The question of questions for Indians today is this," they write: "Can all those who believe in parliamentary action unite so far as to seek elections to the Councils in the Autumn of next year, in order to obtain a mandate from the electors to take concerted action for the gaining of home rule in the shortest possible time?" On the face of it this proposal means either that the believers in "parliamentary action" must be so few that all of them have a good chance of being elected to the various Legislatures, or that there are going to be a great many disappointed candidates at the next election. The "1921" Clubs, however, are not greatly concerned to pack the Councils or the Legislative Assembly with members

charged with a mandate for the granting of immediate home rule. They propose to take the matter out of the hands of the Councils, the Government of India, the Secretary of State, the Imperial Parliament, the Crown and even of the Indian electors, by a procedure of which they give the following outlines: "(1) The future Constitution of India should be framed by bodies consisting of members of the Provisional and of the Indian Legislatures, such bodies having power to co-opt a small number of non-members whose aid is thought to be desirable. (2) Within a stated time after the meeting of a new Legislature the members shall elect such component bodies or conventions, to meet outside the Councils, for the purpose of passing such a Constitution."

By way of simplifying the work of these conventions, the political sections of the "1921" Clubs sketch the outlines of the Constitution which is thus to be brought to birth. It envisages the placing in the hands of Ministers responsible to the Legislature all subjects now controlled by the Viceroy of India in Council, except foreign affairs and army and navy, the last two named to be taken over by the Indian Cabinet when India is sufficiently consolidated for home defense. It is further suggested that the Secretary of State should bear the same relation to India as the Secretary of State for the Colonies bears to the self-governing dominions, and that the India Council should cease to exist.

It will be seen that this proposal relegates to the scrapheap the reforms, whose incubation, even with the reckless propulsions of Mr. Montagu, occupied three years of intensive public and parliamentary debate in both countries. It also contemplates their replacement by a Constitution to be drawn up by an irresponsible body which is apparently to consist partly of the "mandataries" of the electors, and partly of persons whom the electors have not seen fit to entrust with the "mandate." This is surely the very madness of impatience. Some of the members have even suggested that the program of the "1921" Clubs shall enter upon its initial stages after the elections in the Autumn of next year; that is to say, that a bare three years' trial is to be accorded to the Montagu-Chelmsford experiment—itsself a unique contribution to political history—instead of the ten years minimum allotted to it by Parliament. "Asia," said Lord Northcliffe at the conclusion of his last visit to the East, "seems to be cramming centuries into decades." Judging from the proposals under discussion, even this pace is too slow for the politicians of Bombay and Madras.

It may be profitable to recall the attitude of the British Government, officially laid down by the Prime Minister in the House of Commons last February, and still unmodified after the lapse of nine months. "The educated classes of India must be given a chance of making this experiment a success," said Mr. Lloyd

George, "and further reforms must await the result of that experiment. * * *

The experiment in India, if it is to be a success, must be a gradual one, as it has been in the West." There is all the less excuse for "rush" tactics in that the legislative bodies have hitherto done better than many of their champions had ventured to hope. They have made some mistakes, but they have refrained from making others, and have thus done much to justify the policy which has called them into existence. They are, however, only at the beginning of their career, and are still on trial. The immediate business before the serious politician in India must therefore be a whole-hearted endeavor to convert the existing legislative system into a practical instrumental Government, and not to waste his time discussing changes which are obviously neither possible nor desirable until the success of the present experiment has been demonstrated beyond doubt.

Further proof of the British Government's earnest desire to yield to native demands for progressive, responsible government is found in the recent carrying into effect of Parliament's declared policy to provide for the increasing association of Indians in every branch of Indian Administration. This purpose is expressly stated in the preamble to the Government of India act of 1919. Realizing that the question is one of fundamental importance to the future well-being of India, fullest possible measures have been taken by the Government to substitute natives for Europeans in the civil service, and to provide such educational facilities as would enable Indians to enter these services in considerably larger number than heretofore.

A passing reference to the influence of the present abnormal excitement upon the condition of crime will prove how intimately the tenets of non-co-operation and defiance of authority are associated. Political crime during the early part of this year has been directly bound up with the agitation which has openly and unceasingly aimed at the overthrow of the Government. Extremist agitators of the non-co-operation cult have found in the agricultural provinces, where the tenantry harbored agrarian and kindred grievances,

fertile soil for the dissemination of their doctrines, and the result has been seen in riots and disturbances which it was not possible to suppress without bloodshed. The marked increase in the volume of crime was also due to the bad economic conditions. On the whole, crime was 25 per cent. higher than in the previous year; the number of murders rose 20 per cent., while burglaries showed a disquieting rise of almost 30 per cent. The increase in the number of riot cases reflects the general spirit of lawlessness, no fewer than 168 cases being directly ascribed to the non-co-operation movement.

INDIANS DESERTING GANDHI

Recent resignations of prominent men from the Indian National Congress indicate that the fortunes of that organization are now in the throes of an inevitable reaction from the revolutionary "boom" of a year or two ago. Very recently a disillusioned functionary of a district National Congress addressed two of his leaders in an open letter. "I propose," he wrote, "that either the volunteers must be recognized as leaders of the Congress, and be treated on terms of equality, or all the leaders should enlist themselves as ordinary volunteers, and be prepared to receive beatings and indignities like us. They ought to watch the streets by night, to go to jail and give up a sumptuous life in their mansions in order to share our hardships. Why are we denied the rights, privileges and ease that the leaders fondly indulge in?"

The treatment meted out to the volunteers by the Congress leaders in the Punjab moved Dr. Hafiz Mohammed Bashir, lately President of the Congress Committee at Amritsar, and hitherto Gandhi's strongest supporter, to break with the Congress. A resolution adopted by the local committee favoring civil disobedience had, he says,

the effect of bringing a number of excitable raw lads into the arena. "For this," he remarks, "the fault is not so much theirs as that of the responsible workers at the time, for the latter held out false promises, saying many times that if they were arrested they would soon be released, or that the Government would not have the courage to arrest so many of them." They were wrong in both statements, and the sequel is briefly but graphically told. "In February, 1922, the number of local volunteers was practically exhausted, and the movement in Amritsar came to a standstill." Dr. Bashir is but one of many who have realized that the principles of the non-co-operation movement are utopian, and, furthermore, that they are being applied by irresponsible persons.

Like rats that instinctively quit a doomed ship, the half-hearted Extremists of the Gandhi cult are scurrying to dissociate themselves from a movement that is being shaken to its very foundations by the opposition of its reactionary members. They are beginning to realize that the boycott of schools and colleges is fruitless, as long as some equally valuable means of imparting education cannot be devised; that the boycott of courts will always remain unaccomplished, and that the boycott of foreign cloth seems even more futile, doing more harm than good in alienating the sympathies of the merchant class. In the turbulent India of today we see a mass of conflicting elements that make the country totally unfit for Swaraj, in so far as the spirit of unity is considerably lacking; disunion is rife; petty jealousies and personal advancement extremely rampant, and last, but not least, the shadow of the camouflaged entente between the two great religious communities [the Mohammedans and the Hindus] hangs like a black pall over the possibility of a united India.



A view of the stage tower at Nippur indicating the colossal construction that has withstood the ravages of centuries. A wall is shown in the right foreground. Excavations here and on the sites of other ancient cities are throwing new light upon Old Testament history.

EXPLORING ABRAHAM'S BIRTHPLACE

By WILLIAM A. MCGARRY

Ur of the Chaldees, home of the Old Testament patriarch, excavated by American and British archaeologists after four thousand years—Records that antedate the dawn of history

IN the Desert of Southern Mesopotamia six or seven miles from the village of Nasriye on the banks of the Euphrates, there is a huge, irregularly shaped mound of sand from the centre of which arises a tower with brick walls ten feet thick, the top approximately seventy feet above the level of the plain. The tower is all that is showing now of a city buried in the sands of centuries, the City of Ur of the Chaldees, in which, according to Gene-

sis, the Patriarch Abraham was born and reared to young manhood. The story of how Thare led Abraham, his son and others of their people out of the land of Ur has been carried since then in translations of the Old Testament into every corner of the world.

A pilgrimage back to Ur has now been started, after the lapse of four thousand years. It is under the joint direction of the British Museum and the University

Museum of Philadelphia. By the time this appears in print, excavations will have been under way for some time. Modern Americans, Britons and Arab workmen will have reached, in trial trenches, at least to foundation pavements, laid by Ur Engur and Dungi 2300 B. C., and trod by Abraham and his people two to three hundred years later. They will have revealed completely the pavements laid and the remnants of buildings restored 1500 years after Abraham by Nabonidus, the Nebuchadnezzar of the Scriptures, whose dream was revealed by Daniel.

Little is known of ancient Ur in comparison to the wealth of knowledge obtained by archaeologists in the last century concerning such cities as Babylon, Nippur, Nineveh and others with names of less popular significance, such as Susa and Lagash—the modern Tello. From all that has been found elsewhere, however, the conclusion is inevitable that the site should be the richest ever opened in contemporary records of kings and conquerors whose very names were lost to history until the last few years. Biblical scholars have looked forward to its exploration with particular interest since 1854, when tentative excavations—made by J. E. Taylor, British Vice Consul at Basra, at the request of Sir Henry Rawlinson, for the British Museum—gave definite identification of the site.

Prior to that time there had been some question as to whether the ruin had not been obliterated. In the earliest references to the city it was described as located on the shores of the Persian Gulf. Ex-

plorers then failed to take into account the effect of the mud carried down by the Tigris and the Euphrates in pushing the shore line outward. Since then the location has been confirmed by computations of that extension and by records found in other ruins giving the position of Ur with relation to other centres of population of its time as to which there has been no reason for doubt. During the same period there has been a constant flow of records picked up by natives in and around the ruins, all of which tend to emphasize the importance of the site.

From the religious point of view alone, therefore, whether that of the devout believer in the historical accuracy of Holy Writ or the impersonal knowledge-thirst of the scholar and student of religious origins, the Ur expedition is worthy of the effort that is being expended on it. Under the arrangements concluded by Dr. George Byron Gordon, Director of the University Museum, at the invitation of the British Museum, it begins work under auspices more favorable than ever were enjoyed before by a group of archaeologists. Through the British Museum it has the sanction of Great Britain, plus such equipment as a complete military railroad, a fleet of motor trucks, and whatever may be needed in the way of steam shovels and derrick hoists. Likewise it is assured of friendly co-operation from the natives, not only by reason of the missionary work done by British soldiers since the war, but also by the presence—as second in command—of Colonel T. W. Lawrence, the British war hero credited with aligning



Tower of the Temple of Sin, the Moon God of Ur. This is where, in the desert of Southern Mesopotamia, Abraham is described by the Book of Genesis as having been born and reared to young manhood

the Arab tribesmen on the side of the Allies in the World War.

The Jew and the Christian particularly are interested in what may be found in the buried archives of Ur to corroborate or correct assertions of a historical nature in the Old Testament. Finds already made point the way. They include four perfect inscribed clay cylinders and a fragment of a larger barrel cylinder, together with bricks at a level of six feet below the surface of the upper tower. The bricks and cylinders bear the name of Nabonidus, who restored the old temple about 550 B. C. The text of King Nabonidus ends with a prayer for his eldest son and co-regent, Belshazzar, or Bel-Shar-Usur, who was defeated a short time later by Cyrus near the City of Opis, south of Bagdad, and murdered afterwards.

The student of religious origins finds his interest in the fact that Ur was the centre of Moon God worship for uncounted thousands of years. It may well have been the world's first great religious city. On the site of the present tower there was built, far back in the past, an earlier structure of which it is presumed to be an exact counterpart, where Enzu, Sin or Nammar—to give the Moon God all his names—was worshipped. According to Dr. Stephen H. Langdon, Professor of Assyriology at Oxford University, the influence of the liturgies and psalms sung in the Temple at Ur and Nippur can be



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traced to present-day religious services. Nabonidus, last King of Babylon, left a text containing a full account of the consecration of his own daughter, Bel-Shalti-Nammar, as a priestess-prophetess of the Moon God of Ur. The following summary of the information obtained from that text is furnished by Dr. Leon Legrain, Curator of the University Museum's Babylonian section:

She shall live in her own house, close to the shrine, surrounded by a wall, with a guard on watch. A large endowment is attached to the function, including fields, orchards, servants and cattle. She shall be the living oracle of the god, perhaps read the signs in the moon and interpret dreams, all of which strongly resembles the young Samuel sleeping in the temple and being prophet of Yaweh. The shrine itself has doors, and roof; a sacred room where the statue is enthroned, and served by the priestess; and probably a surrounding of smaller rooms or store places round the central court. The whole complex is called the terrace or cover of the god and forms a part of the larger temple. The stage tower, the most important remain in Ur, as well as Nippur and Borsippa, is only another part of the large temple, and its proper origin



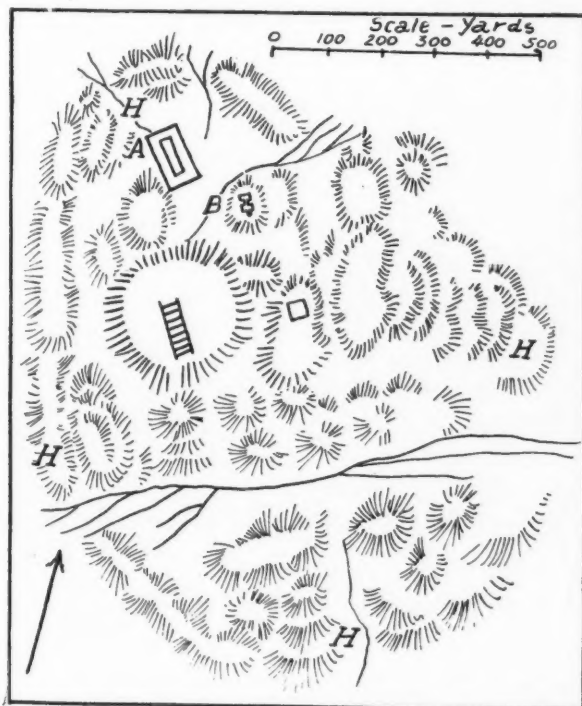
Terra cotta figures made about 1500 B. C.

and significance is still a problem. It might compare with the steeples of our churches. The text gives, moreover, a complete list of the officials attached to the larger temple, beside the shrine of the prophetess. They were The Great Priest (enu), with a special bronze instrument of a prophet; The Seer (baru), who read the signs on the liver of sacrificed animals; The Chief Singer (kalu), The Imprecator (ariru), The Great Architect (rab-banu), The Chief Mason (idinnu), The Intendant, supervisor (dul-u-ha; hi-gab-gallu), The Chief Intercessor (lagaru, Sa-kinu takribti), who called on benediction; The Chief Guardian (Tir-biti), and the Musicians, who rejoiced the heart of the god.

Ur holds more than religious possibilities, however. The evidence found elsewhere all indicates that its archives contain what Dr. Langdon referred to a half dozen years ago as the world's first library. It should be explained, perhaps, that the great bulk of the 25,000 tablets found at Nippur by the University Museum thirty years ago were of sun-dried clay. The collection included many inscriptions on stone, but, as a rule, the stone records were narratives of the exploits of

conquerors, placed in the Temple of Enlil at Nippur with the loot of conquests as offerings to the god. Similar offerings were made at Ur. Nippur was occupied twenty-one times down to the Persian conquest. The inscriptions show that it was the custom of the conqueror to destroy the city wall and the public buildings of his predecessor. That did not imply destruction of all the records. The conqueror took what he wanted in the way of valuables, battered down the walls, and left. When he or another King decided to rebuild, or when the citizens returned and started reconstruction, all the old chambers were filled in. A new pavement then was laid to mark the new street level of the city. Huge sun dried bricks were used, each stamped with the name of the then ruling monarch. Thus it is possible by excavation to determine each important level of occupation, and the name of the ruler. The chronological lists of kings then furnish the dates.

Nippur, a sacred city, was, nevertheless, a battleground for a known period of 4,500 years, up to a short time before the beginning of the Christian era. Ur also had its vicissitudes. Its stage tower, enduring today after 2,500 years, is typical of its history, however. Archaeologists believe it was occupied more continuously than Nippur, and that, as the invasions were of less frequent occurrence, the destruction was consequently less. It is confidently hoped that acres of buried storerooms will be discovered, each yielding thousands of tablets not only of the familiar later clay books but also of the earlier stone. Examples of the earlier tablets are quite rare. The Museum has one in an archaic form of cuneiform script, the date of which has been estimated at 4500 B. C. It is one of the earliest known examples of writing. In the later Babylonian, the earlier Sumerian and the ancient stone tablets the basic sign of the script was the same—a wedge-shaped character



Plan of the ancient City of Ur, showing (A) the ruin of the tower of the Temple of Sin, the Moon God, and (B) square building, below which a pavement dating back to 2800 B. C. has been found

EXPLORING ABRAHAM'S BIRTHPLACE

used in a multiplicity of combinations. Scholars have traced its origin to pictographs, but it is quite plausible that long before 5000 B. C. its use had developed far beyond attempts at pictures.

Archaeologists hesitate to forecast concerning the Ur expedition for fear of underestimating. From any one of a half dozen scientific points of view the possibilities are startling. At Nippur was found a wholly new version of Creation, Paradise, the Flood and the Fall of Man. Dr. Langdon, who translated it, asserts it is a copy of an earlier story originating in the southern country known as Sumer, of which Ur was the cultural, religious and perhaps the business centre for thousands of years. The Sumerians were a non-Semitic race, whose origin is lost. Ur may yield legends at least of the vast prehistoric migration that eventually wrought the magnificent civilization of Mesopotamia. Certainly it will carry the origins of laws back another thousand years or so. When the Code of Hammurabi was found it was shown that the laws of the country had been codified about 2000 B. C.—about the time of Abraham. But within the last few years Dr. A. H. Sayce, British archaeologist, has deciphered tablets from the Nippur collection showing that a codification had been made prior to 3000 B. C. Comparison shows that Hammurabi used that earlier code as the basis of his own.

The progress of archaeology in history has been so amazingly rapid that even the newest popular books of reference have

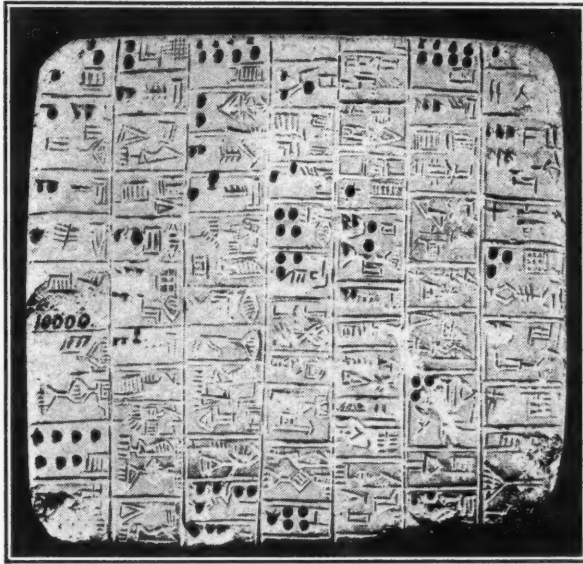
not kept pace. In two years Dr. Legrain has added two thousand years of historical framework to ancient Mesopotamia, in addition to the filling in of gaps. Prior to the beginning of his work on the historical fragments from Nippur the chronology of Babylonian kings and dynasties ran back, with only minor gaps, to about 2000 B. C. Some other names of dynasties were known, but it was impossible to fix their dates. A chronological list was found, dated about 2200 B. C., that gave all earlier dynasties and kings to 3000 B. C., and made it possible to place the others already known by name in later dates. During the last year two more fragments were found. They were broken and separated in a



A terra cotta head made about 1500 B. C.
(In the Nippur collection of the University
Museum, Philadelphia)

room more than 4,000 years ago. The first fragment indicated the date, and Dr. Legrain devoted all his time to a laborious fitting together among thousands of clay tablets until he found the second section. It gave virtually the whole Babylonian chronology back to a date estimated at 5000 B. C., although the names of some kings are still missing.

Ur is expected to carry the threads of history from the point where they were found by Nippur back to some approximation of the beginnings of history. The fact that it was not explored in detail be-



Stone tablet, dated about 4500 B. C., which marked the boundary line of Ur and Lagash

fore was due solely to political difficulties. Dr. Banks of the University of Chicago planned an expedition in 1901, but the Ottoman Government refused to issue the necessary permit. After 1918 H. R. Hall of the British Museum made some excavations. The sum total of the work done has determined the existence of very ancient levels of occupation, so that the present expedition is not striking in the dark. The known ruins are described as follows by Dr. Legrain:

The principal building (A of the plan) is the stage tower or ziggurat of the Temple of the Moon God. It is a two-storied structure, 70 feet high. It forms a parallelogram of 198 by 133 feet. One angle is almost due north. The long sides extend northeast and southwest. The lower story is 27 feet high, supported by strong buttresses. The upper story, receding 30 to 47 feet, is 14 feet high. It is surmounted by 5 feet of brick rubbish. The whole tower is perforated with air holes. The ascent is on the northeast face. The central core consists of sun-dried bricks, with a thick coating of massive partly burned bricks of light red color, with layers of reeds between them. The whole of the thickness of 10 feet is incased by a wall of inscribed kiln-burned bricks.

At the four corners of the upper story, 6 feet below the surface, have been discovered the inscribed clay cylinders, and a larger barrel cylinder has been rescued at a lower level. A small hill southeast of the tower (B of the plan) covered the site of a house built of large inscribed bricks upon a platform of sun-dried bricks. Some

of the inscribed bricks had a coating of gypsum or enamel. A black stone inscribed on both sides and dating from Sargonic times, about 2800 B. C., from the northwest corner of the mud wall, shows the site to have been early occupied. The fact was confirmed by the discovery at a considerable depth below the building of a pavement consisting of plano-convex or pre-Sargonic bricks, bearing the impression of two fingers at the back. None was inscribed. The whole was imbedded in bitumen. The rest of the mounds on the upper level contain a vast cemetery filled with clay coffins, vases of different size and shape, drains, small objects in stone, metal, clay of later periods, some inscribed cones and tablets with envelopes and seal impressions. Four main cuts or gates have been identified in the walls (H of the plan).

The present name of the site, given by the Arabs, is Muqajjar, meaning "cemented, with bitumen." The circumference of the elevation is 3,000 yards, and the large north and south diameter is about 1,000 yards. Headquarters will be maintained by the expedition at Bagdad by utilizing the motor trucks. Climatic conditions are such that work can be continued only for six months, beginning Oct. 15. It is believed by officials of both

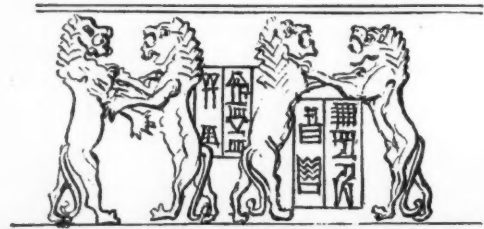


Copy of inscription of Penitential Psalm to Sod Amurru, about 2500 B. C. (In the Nippur collection of the University Museum, Philadelphia)

museums that the first six months of effort will yield definite indication of the extent of the ruins and the condition of the temple buildings in which the lore of the ancients, carefully inscribed on clay and stone, was preserved.

The Nippur chronological lists made in 2200 B. C. named three kingdoms of Ur, with a total of thirteen kings who reigned 396 years. According to Dr. Legrain, the third dynasty, which is the best known, had five kings who reigned 117 years from 2304 to 2188 B. C. They were Ur Engur, Dungi, Bur Sin, Gimil Sin and Ibi-Sin. A likeness of the last king engraved on a seal cylinder was found in the Nippur collection. The first kingdom of Ur is placed at about 4000 B. C. and not all of its kings are known. When Ur was the seat of Government the land of Sumer and Akkad included all the territory to Bagdad and probably at times to the Mediterranean. The Sumerians of the south, tentatively classified as of Turanian stock and with a language akin to Turkish, struggled for two or three thousand years with the Semites of the north, or Akkad, until the foundation of the Kingdom of Babylon, about 2000 B. C., united the land under the Amurru from the west.

On its own resources the University Museum has now five other expeditions at work on sites of ancient civilization, two of which are directly related to the work just launched at Ur in co-operation with the British. The newest and more important of these, because of its religious possibilities, is at Beth Shan, the city of Armageddon, to the walls of which the bodies of King Saul and his sons were nailed after their defeat by the Philistines on Mount Gilboa, which towers in the distance. Beth Shan was the scene of a thousand battles in the distant past. It was the fortress city



Coat of arms of a scribe and his son, 2000 B. C.



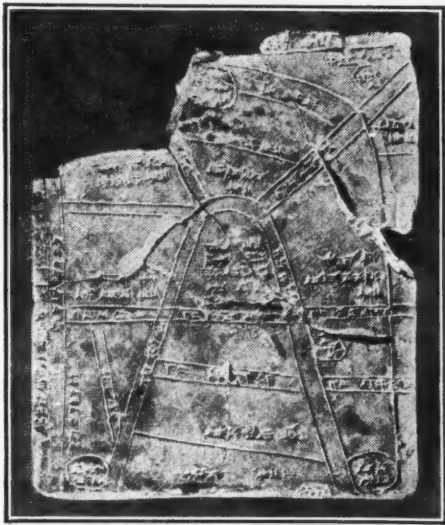
DR. LEON LEGRAIN

Curator, Babylonian Section, University of Pennsylvania Museum, Philadelphia

at the northwest point of the Valley of the Megiddo. In the first half year of excavation the levels of nine occupations were determined. Results of the second period are not as yet announced.

The other Near Eastern explorations—under command, like that at Beth Shan, of Dr. Clarence Stanley Fisher—are in Egypt, where the Museum has forces working simultaneously at Memphis and at Thebes. Valuable discoveries of papyri records of the Ptolemies have been made at Thebes, but are as yet undeciphered. At Memphis, over a period of a half dozen years, the Museum has uncovered part of the Palace of Merneptah, formerly believed to have been the Pharaoh of the Oppression. Rameses II. is now given that place in history. Work is proceeding there on buildings adjoining the central court, and restorations are in course of publication.

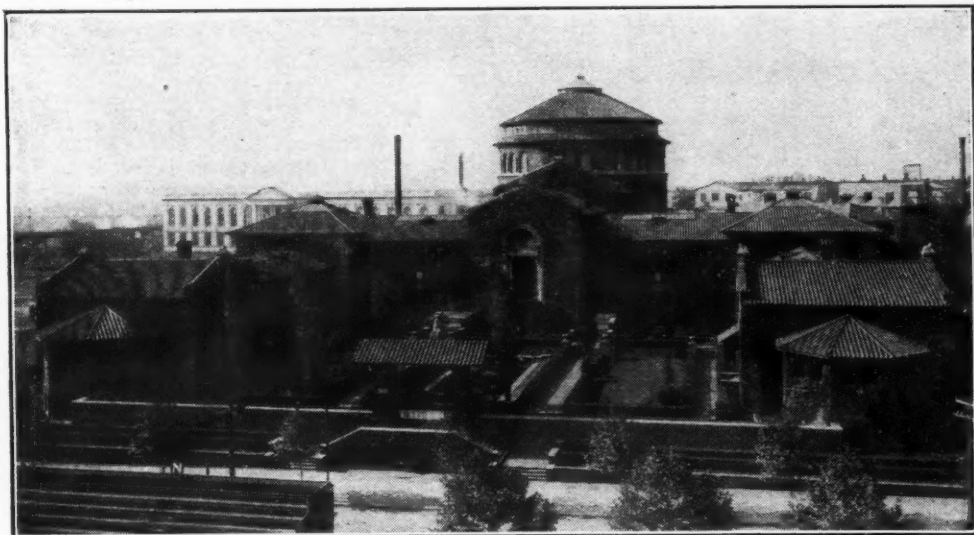
Egyptian ruins never yield the same detailed information as those of Babylonia. At Ur the explorers will certainly find, as they did in Nippur, marriage contracts,



Map, made on a clay tablet, of an agricultural area around Nippur, showing canals, roads, and fields. (In the Nippur collection of the University Museum, Philadelphia)

records of the sale of land, leases for farms and dwellings, contracts of employment, bills of sale for slaves and all sorts of commodities, tax records, legal decisions and perhaps a temple school library containing tables of weights and measures, grammars and all sorts of textbooks. It is said that not more than eight living men are qualified to decipher Sumerian, so that, while the general nature of the tablets will be known, it may be twenty years before all of them are deciphered. Scholars have been at work on the Nippur collections for thirty years, and much remains to be done.*

*Since this article was written, Dr. Edward Chiera, Assistant Professor of Assyriology at the University of Pennsylvania, has deciphered a very ancient tablet in the Sumerian language, found in the library of the temple at Nippur, and containing an account of the fall of man somewhat like that in Genesis, but evidently older. "The date of this tablet is about 2100 or 2200 B. C.," said Dr. Chiera. "The writing of the Hebrew account took place, according to the best authorities, at some later date than 1000 B. C."



University of Pennsylvania Museum, Philadelphia, which contains a valuable collection of Babylonian antiquities

CONSTITUTION OF LITHUANIA

Full text of the basic law under which the new Baltic republic has taken its place among the independent nations of the world

ALL three of the so-called Baltic States, Lithuania, Latvia and Esthonia, are making rapid progress in establishing law and order as independent republics, and all have now received formal recognition from the United States Government. In all these new States that have been carved out of a corner of the former Russian Empire women have equal voting rights with men, and there are many women in their Parliaments. The Constitutions of two of these countries, Lithuania and Latvia, are printed in full in the following pages. Though the basic law of the new republics is modeled to a large extent upon the United States Constitution, the influence of the French Constitution is apparent at many points—for instance, in the provision for the election of the President by the vote of Parliament instead of by popular ballot.

The full text of the Lithuanian Constitution, as formally made public at the capital, Kovno, on Aug. 6, 1922, is as follows:

PREAMBLE

In the name of Almighty God, the Lithuanian Nation, gratefully mindful of the glorious deeds of her sons and their noble sacrifices made to free their fatherland, having reconstituted her independent State, and desiring to establish for her independent life a firm democratic base, to create conditions for the establishment of right and justice, and to assure to all her citizens quality, freedom and welfare, and proper State protection for the work and morals of the people, through her duly authorized representatives formally convened as the Constituent Assembly, on the first day of August, 1922, adopted this the Constitution of the State of Lithuania.

I.—FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES

SECTION 1—The State of Lithuania is an independent democratic republic.

The sovereign Government of the State shall be vested in the people.

SECTION 2—The governmental functions of the State shall be performed by the Legislative (the Saeima), the Executive and the Judicial Departments.

SECTION 3—In the State of Lithuania no law which is contrary to the Constitution shall have force.

SECTION 4—The boundaries of the territory of Lithuania can be changed only in the manner prescribed by law.

SECTION 5—The law shall determine the administrative divisions of the territory of Lithuania.

For the purpose of special local needs of inhabitants, autonomous units, whose boundaries and rights shall be fixed by law, may be formed from separate districts of Lithuania.

SECTION 6—The Lithuanian language shall be the language of the State. The use of local languages shall be determined by law.

SECTION 7—The State colors shall be yellow, green and red. The State coat-of-arms shall be a white knight on a red background.

II.—LITHUANIAN CITIZENS AND THEIR RIGHTS

SECTION 8—Citizenship may be acquired and revoked in accordance with the citizenship laws.

Citizens of foreign States may become citizens of Lithuania provided they shall have resided in Lithuania not less than ten years.

SECTION 9—No person can be at the same time a citizen of Lithuania and a citizen of any other State.

SECTION 10—All citizens of Lithuania, men and women, are equal before the law. No special privileges can be given to, nor shall the rights of citizens be restricted because of race, creed or nationality.

SECTION 11—The person of a citizen shall be inviolable. A citizen may be brought before justice only in such cases and in the manner prescribed by law. A citizen may be arrested or his liberty restricted only in case he shall be found committing an offense, or by the decision of a judicial organ of the Government. The cause of arrest must be made known to such citizen and a copy of the indictment given him within forty-eight hours. No such indictment having been given, the person so placed under arrest shall be given his freedom.

SECTION 12—The home of a citizen shall be inviolable. Entry into a home and the making of a search therein shall be permitted only in such cases and in the manner prescribed by law.

SECTION 13—Citizens shall have the right of freedom of religious belief and conscience.

The belonging to any religion or the profession of one's convictions shall not form the basis for justification of an offense or for refusing to perform public duties.

SECTION 14—Secrecy of correspondence and communication by post, telephone and telegraph shall be guaranteed to citizens. Exception can be made only in cases provided by law.

SECTION 15—Freedom of speech and of the press shall be guaranteed to the citizens. This

freedom can be restricted only in such cases as is provided by law, whenever it shall be necessary to protect the morals and the order of the State.

SECTION 16—The right of citizens to freedom of assembly without arms and without disturbance of the public peace, in the manner prescribed by law, shall be recognized.

SECTION 17—Freedom to form societies and associations shall be guaranteed to the citizens, provided the purpose thereof and the methods of putting them into effect shall not be contrary to the penal laws.

SECTION 18—Any citizen who shall have been aggrieved by an official in the performance of his duties shall have the right, in the manner prescribed by law, to have such official brought before a court of justice without first obtaining the permission or consent of his superiors, and to seek damage.

SECTION 19—Each citizen shall have the right of petition to the Seimas.

SECTION 20—Citizens shall have the right of initiative in the making of laws. Twenty-five thousand citizens, possessing the right to elect Representatives to the Seimas, may submit their proposals to the Seimas in the manner prescribed by law, and the Seimas shall be obliged to consider these proposals.

SECTION 21—The right of property shall be protected. The property of citizens may be condemned, in the manner prescribed by law, only in the event of the public need.

III.—THE SEIMAS

SECTION 22—The Seimas shall be composed of the Representatives of the people.

SECTION 23—Representatives shall be elected by a general, equal, direct and secret ballot, based upon a proportional election system. The laws shall determine the number of Representatives and the manner of conducting elections.

SECTION 24—All qualified Lithuanian citizens, men and women, not less than 31 years of age, shall have the right to elect Representatives to the Seimas, and those not less than 24 years of age to be elected.

SECTION 25—The Seimas shall be elected for three years.

Should the State be at war, or should there be martial law in more than half of its territory, the President of the republic may, by a special act, extend the term of the Seimas beyond the term for which it shall have been elected. Such act of the President of the republic must be confirmed by the Seimas.

SECTION 26—The election of a new Seimas must take place before the expiration of the term of the old Seimas. The President of the republic shall fix the date for the election of the new Seimas.

The term of the new Seimas shall commence upon the expiration of the term of the old Seimas.

The Seimas shall convene not later than thirty days after its election. The President of the republic shall designate the day for the convening of the Seimas.

SECTION 27—The Seimas shall make the

laws. The manner of publication of the laws, and the time when they shall become effective, shall be determined by a separate law.

SECTION 28—The Seimas shall supervise the work of the Executive Government, propounding questions and interpellations, and conducting investigations.

SECTION 29—The State budget and its administration shall be confirmed by the Seimas.

SECTION 30—The following State agreements and treaties entered into by the Government shall be confirmed by the Seimas: Peace treaties, agreements for the acquisition, abandonment or conveyance of territory by the State, commercial treaties with other States, foreign loans, agreements which wholly or partially abolish or amend existing laws, agreements which impose duties on Lithuanian citizens, agreements which fix direct or indirect monopoly or condemnation rights.

SECTION 31—The Seimas shall have the power to declare and end war.

Acts of war may be commenced without the Seimas in case an enemy country shall have declared war against Lithuania, or in case the enemy, without declaration of war, shall have invaded the borders of Lithuania.

SECTION 32—In case of war, armed uprising or other disturbances dangerous to the peace of the State, the President of the republic, having first made a proposal to the Cabinet of Ministers, may declare the existence of a state of war or other unusual state of affairs in the entire State or in certain parts thereof, temporarily place in abeyance the constitutional rights of citizens (Sections 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17), and use means to prevent or remove such danger, even using armed force, and at the same time he shall bring all of these matters to the attention of the Seimas, which shall either confirm or reject such act of the Executive.

SECTION 33—The Seimas shall elect its President and other members of the presidium.

The Seimas shall adopt its own rules which shall have the force of law.

SECTION 34—The sessions of the Seimas shall be called in the manner determined by the Seimas. If the President of the republic or one-fourth of the number of its Representatives shall so request, the President of the Seimas shall call the Seimas into session.

SECTION 35—Each Representative, upon assuming office, shall make oath or solemnly affirm that he will be loyal to the Republic of Lithuania, protect its laws and conscientiously carry out his powers and fulfill his duties as representative of the people.

Any Representative who shall decline to make oath or make affirmation, or who shall make oath or affirm conditionally, shall lose his powers as a representative.

SECTION 36—Representatives shall be guided only by their conscience, and they shall not be restricted by any mandates whatsoever.

SECTION 37—Representatives shall not be punished by courts of justice for speeches made in the course of their duties, nevertheless they may be made to answer in the ordinary manner for injury to the reputation of another.

SECTION 38—The person of a Representative

shall be inviolable. A Representative can be arrested only with the consent of the Seimas, except in cases where the Representative is found in the place where the offense is being committed.

Notice of the arrest of a Representative and the cause for such arrest in such case shall be given not later than forty-eight hours to the President of the Seimas, who shall announce the same to the Seimas at its next session. The liberty of such Representative may be restored by the Seimas.

SECTION 39—Representatives shall have the right of free transportation on all the railroads of Lithuania.

The compensation which Representatives shall receive for the performance of their duties shall be determined by law.

IV.—EXECUTIVE AUTHORITY

SECTION 40—The executive authority shall be vested in the President of the republic and the Cabinet of Ministers.

SECTION 41—The President of the republic shall be elected by the Seimas.

The President of the republic shall be elected by secret ballot of the absolute majority of the Representatives. If after taking two ballots none of the candidates shall have received the absolute majority of the votes of the Representatives, the President of the republic shall be then elected from the two candidates who shall have received the most votes, and he shall be deemed elected President who shall have obtained the more votes. In case both candidates shall have obtained an equal number of votes, the senior in years shall be deemed elected.

SECTION 42—The President of the republic, upon assuming office, shall make oath or solemnly affirm, with all his power, to look after the welfare of the republic and the people, protect the Constitution and laws, and conscientiously fulfill his duty and be just equally to all.

SECTION 43—Any Lithuanian citizen who shall be eligible for election as a Representative to the Seimas, and who shall not be under 35 years of age, may be elected as President of the republic.

SECTION 44—The President of the republic shall be elected for three years.

The President of the republic shall remain in office until the election of his successor.

The President of the republic may be dismissed from office by a two-thirds vote of all the Representatives of the Seimas.

The same person shall not be elected President of the republic for more than two three-year terms in succession.

SECTION 45—In case the President of the republic shall leave the country, or in case of sickness or temporary disability, his duties shall devolve upon the President of the Seimas. In case the President of the republic shall resign from office, die or become too ill to perform the duties of his office, another President shall be elected to complete the unexpired term.

SECTION 46—The President of the republic shall represent the republic, accredit emissaries and accept the envoys of foreign countries.

SECTION 47—The President of the republic shall appoint the Prime Minister, authorize him to form the Cabinet of Ministers, confirm the same, and accept the resignation of the Cabinet of Ministers.

SECTION 48—The President of the republic shall appoint and dismiss the State Controller.

The State Controller shall be responsible to the Seimas, and shall resign upon the vote of want of confidence by the Seimas.

SECTION 49—The President of the republic shall appoint and dismiss officials of the republic whose appointment and dismissal shall be vested in him by law.

SECTION 50—The President of the republic shall publish the laws.

The laws adopted by the Seimas shall be published by the President of the republic within thirty-one days, to be calculated from the day on which the law shall be submitted to him.

The President of the republic shall have the right, within twenty-one days, to be calculated from the day on which the law shall have been submitted, to return to the Seimas, with his remarks, the law adopted by the Seimas, for second consideration. If the Seimas shall then pass the same law by an absolute majority of the votes of all of the Representatives, the President of the republic must publish it.

If the Seimas by a two-thirds vote of all of the Representatives shall recognize the publication of a law as urgent, the President of the republic shall not have the right to return it to the Seimas for second consideration.

SECTION 51—The President of the republic shall have the right of pardon.

The President of the republic may pardon only with the consent of the Seimas the offenses of Ministers who shall have been sentenced for abuse of office.

SECTION 52—The President of the republic shall have the right to dissolve the Seimas.

Upon the meeting of a new Seimas, the President of the republic shall be re-elected.

The election of a new Seimas must take place not later than sixty days after the dissolution of the Seimas. The term of the new Seimas shall commence from the day of election.

SECTION 53—The President of the republic is the Commander-in-Chief of all armed forces of the republic.

The Cabinet of Ministers and the proper Minister shall be responsible to the Seimas for the control and administration of the armed forces of the republic.

In time of war, upon the proposal of the Cabinet of Ministers, the President of the republic shall appoint the Chief Military Commander.

SECTION 54—The President of the republic shall have the right to participate in the sessions of the Cabinet of Ministers, and preside over them, and to require from the Cabinet of Ministers or individual Ministers information in writing relating to their office.

SECTION 55—All the acts of the President of the republic, in order to have force, must have the signature of the Prime Minister or the proper Minister. Responsibility for the act shall rest upon the Minister who shall have signed it.

SECTION 56—The Cabinet of Ministers shall consist of the Prime Minister and other Ministers. The number of Ministers and their duties shall be determined by law.

SECTION 57—The Prime Minister shall submit the names of the Ministers selected by him to the President of the republic for approval. The President of the republic shall have the power to dismiss the Ministers.

SECTION 58—Upon assuming office, the Ministers shall make oath or solemnly affirm that they will impartially and conscientiously perform the duties of their office and uphold the Constitution and laws.

SECTION 59—The Cabinet of Ministers shall be responsible as a whole to the Seimas for the common policies of the Government, and each individual Minister shall be separately responsible to the Seimas for the work assigned to him in the administration of his special department.

The Ministers must have the confidence of the Seimas. If the Seimas shall directly declare want of confidence in them, the Cabinet of Ministers and each Minister must resign.

SECTION 60—The Cabinet of Ministers shall formulate and submit to the Seimas proposed laws.

Ministers who shall remain in the minority in passing upon a proposed law by the Cabinet of Ministers shall have the right to present, in writing, to the Seimas their minority view in respect thereto, together with the proposal submitted by the Cabinet of Ministers.

SECTION 61—The Cabinet of Ministers shall uphold the Constitution and administer the laws, conduct the internal and foreign policies and protect the inviolability of the territory and the internal order of the republic.

SECTION 62—The State Controller shall have the right to participate in an advisory capacity in the sessions of the Cabinet of Ministers.

SECTION 63—The Seimas alone, by the absolute majority of votes of all the Representatives, shall have the right to commence criminal action against the President of the republic, the Prime Minister or any Minister for abuse of office or treason.

Such instituted action shall be passed upon by the Supreme Court of Lithuania.

V.—THE JUDICIARY

SECTION 64—The Judicial Department shall render decisions in the name of the republic in accordance with the laws.

SECTION 65—No decision of a court shall be modified or reversed, except by judicial authority in the manner prescribed by law.

Amnesty may be granted in the manner provided by law.

SECTION 66—The organization, competence and jurisdiction of the court shall be fixed by law.

SECTION 67—There shall be one Supreme Court for the entire territory of the republic.

SECTION 68—The courts shall pass upon the legality of acts proceeding from the Administration.

SECTION 69—All citizens are equal before the courts.

Special courts shall pass judgment upon soldiers for offenses committed while in the service.

Special courts may be established only in time of war or while a state of war shall exist.

VI.—LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT

SECTION 70—The right of self-government shall be guaranteed to communities and cities within the limits of law.

General, equal, direct and secret ballot shall be made the basis for the election of local self-governments.

SECTION 71—The organs of self-government shall look after the needs of the local government of the State in the manner prescribed by law.

They shall have the right to impose taxes for the needs of local self-government, in accordance with special tax laws provided for that purpose.

SECTION 72—The Administration shall be charged with seeing that the organs of self-government shall execute their duties, and that their work shall not be contrary to the laws of the State.

The courts shall finally pass upon any disputes arising between local self-governments and the Administration.

VII.—RIGHTS OF NATIONAL MINORITIES

SECTION 73—National minorities of citizens, which shall form an appreciable part of the citizenry, shall have the right, within the limits of the law, to administer autonomously the affairs of their national culture—public education, charity, mutual aid—and to elect necessary bodies to conduct these affairs in the manner prescribed by law.

SECTION 74—The national minorities, set forth in Section 73, shall have the right, in accordance with special laws for that purpose, to impose upon their members dues for needs of national culture, and they shall have the benefit of the proper portion of the sums set aside by the State and the local self-government for matters of education and charity, provided the sums allowed by the common State and self-government institutions shall not suffice for these needs.

VIII.—DEFENSE OF THE REPUBLIC

SECTION 75—All the citizens of the republic shall participate in the defense of the territory in the manner prescribed by law.

SECTION 76—For the defense of the republic, armed forces shall be organized. The organization of armed forces, the means of mobilization, the nature and term of service shall be fixed by law.

SECTION 77—The care and protection of the State shall be guaranteed to the families of soldiers and to the soldiers themselves who shall lose their health or life in line of duty.

IX.—EDUCATION

SECTION 78—The education of their children shall constitute the supreme right and natural duty of the parents.

SECTION 79—Schools may be established by the State, local self-governments, public organizations and individuals. All schools shall be

under State supervision in the manner prescribed by law.

SECTION 80—Religious education in schools shall be compulsory, with the exception of schools established for children whose parents do not belong to any religious organization. Religion shall be taught in accordance with the requirements of those religious organizations to which the students belong.

SECTION 81—Primary education shall be compulsory.

The manner and time of establishment of compulsory primary education shall be fixed by law.

Primary education in schools maintained by the State and local self-governments shall be free.

SECTION 82—Private religious schools, provided they comply with the minimum of the program fixed by law, shall receive from the State Treasury for the purposes of education that part of the budget appropriation which shall correspond to the number of Lithuanian citizens and students belonging to such religion which shall conduct such schools and education.

X.—MATTERS OF RELIGION AND CULT

SECTION 83—The State recognizes the equal right of all religious organizations existing in Lithuania to administer their affairs in accordance with the requirements of their canons or statutes, freely publish their religious doctrines and to practice their cult ceremonies, to establish and manage their cult buildings, schools, educational and charitable institutions, establish convents, religious congregations and fraternities, to impose upon their members dues for the needs of the religious organizations, and to acquire and manage personal and real property.

Religious organizations shall possess the rights of legal entities in the State.

Spiritual advisers are relieved from military obligations.

SECTION 84—The State shall recognize newly formed religious organizations, provided their beliefs and moral teachings and statutes shall not be contrary to the public good and morals.

The formation of such organizations and their existence shall be determined by law.

SECTION 85—Birth, marriage or death certificates, made by the faithful before their spiritual advisers, if they comply with the form determined by law, shall have legal force in Lithuania, and citizens shall not be compelled to repeat such acts in another institution.

SECTION 86—The laws shall protect Sundays and other holidays recognized by the State as days of rest and spiritual need.

SECTION 87—Soldiers shall be granted leave to attend to their religious duties.

Persons in hospitals, jails and other public institutions shall be given the opportunity to attend to their religious duties.

XI.—THE BASIS OF THE ECONOMIC POLICY OF THE STATE

SECTION 88—The freedom of husbandry and initiative in all the departments of economy shall be guaranteed to each citizen. This freedom can be restricted only by law in case of public necessity.

The economic life shall be so regulated that each citizen shall have work.

SECTION 89—The laws shall guarantee special self-government to the separate departments of economy. There shall be established by law bureaus of agriculture, commerce and industry, labor and other bureaus, whose co-operation with the State Government for the standardization of the economic life shall be prescribed by law.

SECTION 90—The principle of private ownership shall be made the basis for the management of land.

To the State shall be reserved the right to regulate the management of land in such a manner that there shall be established suitable conditions for the proper cultivation of agricultural lands, and especially for the development of the smaller and average farms.

Estates shall be parceled in the manner prescribed by law.

XII.—STATE FINANCES

SECTION 91—The imposition of taxes on the inhabitants, appropriation of money from the State Treasury, the making of internal loans or the issuance of paper money, can be done only in the manner provided by law.

SECTION 92—The State Controller shall supervise the accountability and responsibility of revenues, expenditures and debts of the Government.

SECTION 93—The State Controller shall prepare each year a report of the functioning of the State budget for the past year and submit the same to the Seimas not later than the fifteenth day of October.

SECTION 94—The Cabinet of Ministers shall prepare an estimate of all the receipts and expenditures of the State for the ensuing year and submit the same to the Seimas for confirmation not later than the fifteenth day of October.

SECTION 95—The estimate of State revenues and expenditures shall be fixed by law for each year separately before the beginning of the budget year.

SECTION 96—The budget year shall commence on the first day of January and shall end on the last day of December.

XIII.—SOCIAL PROTECTION

SECTION 97—The working power of the people shall be guarded and protected by special laws.

The State shall protect by separate laws a workman while ill, during old age, in cases of misfortune and when unemployed.

SECTION 98—The basis of the family life shall be motherhood. Equality of right for both sexes shall be a fundamental principle of the home.

The social welfare and family health shall be protected and maintained by special laws.

Maternity shall be under the special protection of the State.

SECTION 99—Public morals and health shall be protected by special laws.

SECTION 100—All classes of schools shall be equally accessible to all.

SECTION 101—For the purpose of maintain-

ing temperance, all the citizens of the community shall have the right to decide whether establishments for the sale of intoxicating liquors shall be maintained within their residential district.

XIV.—AMENDMENT OR SUPPLEMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION

SECTION 102—The Seimas, the Executive Department, or 50,000 citizens having the right to elect to the Seimas, shall have the right to propose an amendment or supplement to the Constitution.

SECTION 103—A proposed amendment or supplement to the Constitution shall be adopted by a vote of three-fifths of all the Representatives of the Seimas.

An amendment or supplement to the Constitution, adopted by the Seimas, shall be submitted for decision to the people by a general vote, provided that within three months from the date of its publication the President of the republic or one-fourth of the number of Representatives, or 50,000 citizens having the right to elect to the Seimas, shall require the same. A constitutional amendment or supplement, adopted by the Seimas, if it shall not be submitted in accordance with such requirements, shall become effective after three months from the date of publication.

A constitutional amendment or supplement, adopted by the Seimas, shall be regarded as rejected by the people if not less than half of all the citizens having the right to vote shall have participated in the voting, and not less than half of the citizens having participated in the voting shall have voted against such amendment or supplement.

A constitutional amendment or supplement which shall be adopted by the Seimas by a vote of four-fifths of all the Representatives shall acquire force from the date of publication.

XV.—INTRODUCTORY REGULATIONS

SECTION 104—Upon the publication of this Constitution, the Constituent Assembly shall remain in place of the Seimas until the election of the Seimas.

The first term of the Seimas shall commence from the date of its election.

The date of election of the first Seimas shall

be fixed by the President of the republic, having in view that it shall not be later than three months from the date of publication of the Constitution.

SECTION 105—The President of the Constituent Assembly shall act as President of the republic until the President of the republic shall be elected.

From the date upon which the Constitution takes effect he shall have all the rights given in the Constitution to the President of the republic.

SECTION 106—All the laws in force in Lithuania up to the date of publication of this Constitution, which are not contrary to the Constitution, and which shall not be abolished or amended by this Constitution in the manner provided, shall remain in force.

SECTION 107—The Provisional Constitution of the Lithuanian State ceases to be in force.

SECTION 108—This Constitution of the Lithuanian State becomes of full force and effect from the date of its publication.

(Signed)

A. STULGINSKIS,
Acting President of the Republic,
President of the Constituent Assembly.

GALVANAUSKAS,
Prime Minister.

J. KAROBIS,
Minister of Justice.

P. JUODAKIS,
Minister of Education.

J. OLEKA,
Minister of the Interior.

B. TOMASEVIOIUS,
Acting Minister of Communications.

D. SISMASKA,
Acting Minister of White Russian Affairs.

V. JURGUTIS,
Minister of Foreign Affairs.

J. DOBKEVICIUS,
Minister of Finance, Commerce and Industry.

J. ALEKEA,
Minister of Agriculture and State Property.

SLIZYS,
Minister of Defense.

M. SOLOVEICKAS,
Minister of Jewish Affairs.

Kovno, Aug. 6, 1922.

TEXT OF LATVIA'S CONSTITUTION

THE Constitution recently adopted by the Latvian people through their freely elected Constituent Assembly in session at the capital, Riga, follows the same general lines as that of Lithuania, but differs from it in many interesting details. The full text is as follows:

SECTION I.—GENERAL REGULATIONS

ARTICLE 1—Latvia shall be an independent democratic republic.

ARTICLE 2—The sovereign power of the Latvian State shall be vested in the people.

ARTICLE 3—The territory of the Latvian State, in accordance with the boundaries stipulated by international treaties, shall consist of Livonia, Latgale, Courland and Zemgale.

ARTICLE 4—The national flag of the Latvian State shall be red with a white stripe.

SECTION II.—PARLIAMENT (SAEIMA)

ARTICLE 5—The Saeima shall consist of 100 representatives of the people.

ARTICLE 6—The Saeima shall be elected by universal, equal, direct and secret vote, on the basis of proportional representation.

ARTICLE 7—Latvia shall be divided into separate electoral districts and the number of parliamentary representatives from each district shall be in proportion with the number of electors in that district.

ARTICLE 8—Latvian citizens of both sexes, possessing full rights, who shall have attained the age of 21 years by the first day of voting, shall have the right to vote.

ARTICLE 9—Any Latvian citizen who shall have attained the age of 21 years by the first day of voting may be elected to the Saeima.

ARTICLE 10—The Saeima shall be elected for a period of three years.

ARTICLE 11—The parliamentary elections shall take place on the first Sunday in October and on the previous Saturday.

ARTICLE 12—The newly-elected Saeima shall hold its first meeting on the first Tuesday in November, on which day the powers of the previous Saeima shall have expired.

ARTICLE 13—Should the parliamentary elections, by reason of the dissolution of the previous Saeima, take place at another season of the year, the Saeima thus elected shall assemble not later than one month after its election, and its powers shall expire after two years, on the first Tuesday in November, on which day a new Saeima shall assemble.

ARTICLE 14—The electors may not recall separate representatives.

ARTICLE 15—The Saeima shall assemble in Riga. It may assemble elsewhere only in extraordinary circumstances.

ARTICLE 16—The Saeima shall elect its Executive Council (Presidium), which shall consist

of the Speaker, his two Deputies, and Secretaries. The Executive Council shall carry on its work uninterruptedly throughout the duration of the Saeima.

ARTICLE 17—The first meeting of a newly-elected Saeima shall be opened by the Speaker of the preceding Saeima or by any other member of the Executive Council charged by this body.

ARTICLE 18—The Saeima shall scrutinize the mandates of its members.

ARTICLE 19—The Executive Council shall convene sessions and decree ordinary and extraordinary meetings.

ARTICLE 20—The Executive Council shall convoke a meeting of the Saeima at the request of either the President of the State, the Prime Minister, or not less than one-third of the members of the Saeima.

ARTICLE 21—The Saeima shall draw up the Standing Order for the conduct of its internal business.

ARTICLE 22—The meetings of the Saeima shall be public. At the desire of ten members of the Saeima, the President of the State, the Prime Minister, or any one Minister, the Saeima may decide by a majority of not less than two-thirds of the members present, to sit in camera.

ARTICLE 23—The meetings of the Saeima may take place if at least one-half of the members are present.

ARTICLE 24—Except in cases where otherwise prescribed by the Constitution, the Saeima shall pass its resolutions by the absolute majority vote of the members present.

ARTICLE 25—The Saeima shall elect committees, determine the number of their members and their terms of reference. The committees shall have the right to request separate Ministers and Communal Institutions to supply them with the information necessary for their work, and also to invite responsible representatives of these Ministries and Communal Institutions to their meetings for the purpose of obtaining explanations. The committees may carry on their work during the recesses.

ARTICLE 26—At the request of not less than one-third of its members, the Saeima shall appoint Parliamentary Inquiry Committees to deal with definite cases.

ARTICLE 27—The Saeima shall have the right to address to the Prime Minister, or to any other Minister, interpellations or questions to which they, or responsible officials empowered by them, shall reply. At the request of either the Saeima or its committees, the Prime Minister, or any one Minister, shall place at their disposal relevant papers and documents.

ARTICLE 28—Members of the Saeima shall not be liable to prosecution by courts of law, or by administrative or disciplinary measures, for their voting, or for ideas expressed while carrying out the duties of their calling. Members of the Saeima are liable to prosecution, even in their public capacity, if they disseminate (1) defama-

tory news, knowing it to be baseless or (2) defamatory news about private or family life.

ARTICLE 29—Members of the Saeima may not be arrested or searched, nor may their personal liberty be restricted in any other way, without the sanction of the Saeima. Members of the Saeima shall be liable to arrest if caught in the act of committing a crime. The arrest of a member of the Saeima shall be brought, within twenty-four hours, to the knowledge of the Executive Council, who shall then report it to the next meeting of the Saeima; the Saeima shall then decide as to whether the member shall be retained under arrest or liberated. During the recess the Executive Council shall decide the question of the retention under arrest of a member of the Saeima.

ARTICLE 30—A member of the Saeima shall not be liable to judicial or administrative prosecution for criminal action without the consent of the Saeima.

ARTICLE 31—A member of the Saeima shall have the right to withhold evidence (1) concerning persons who have entrusted him, as member of the Saeima, with certain facts or data; (2) concerning persons to whom he, as member of the Saeima, has entrusted certain facts or data; (3) concerning such facts and data.

ARTICLE 32—Members of the Saeima may not undertake Government contracts or receive Government concessions in their name or in that of any other person. The stipulations of this article shall refer to Ministers, even if they are not members of the Saeima.

ARTICLE 33—Members of the Saeima shall receive remuneration from State funds.

ARTICLE 34—No person shall be prosecuted for circulating reports about meetings of the Saeima or committees, if such reports correspond with the facts. Accounts of the sittings in camera of either the Saeima or its committees may only be published with the sanction of the Executive Council of either the Saeima or the respective committees.

SECTION III.—PRESIDENT OF THE STATE

ARTICLE 35—The President of the State shall be elected by the Saeima for a period of three years.

ARTICLE 36—The President shall be elected by secret ballot with a majority of not less than fifty-one votes.

ARTICLE 37—No person who is under 40 years of age may be elected President of the State.

ARTICLE 38—The office of President of the State shall not be compatible with any other office. Should the President-elect be a member of the Saeima, he shall resign his membership.

ARTICLE 39—The same person cannot hold office as President of the State for more than six consecutive years.

ARTICLE 40—On assuming office at the first meeting of the Saeima after his election, the President of the State shall make the following solemn affirmation:

"I do affirm that all my work shall be devoted to the good of the Latvian people. I will do everything in my power to promote the welfare

of the State of Latvia and its inhabitants. I will heed and keep sacred the Constitution of Latvia and its laws. I will be just to every one and will carry out my duties to the best of my abilities."

ARTICLE 41—The President of the State shall represent the State internationally; he shall accredit Latvian representatives abroad, and receive accredited representatives of foreign States. He shall carry out the decisions of the Saeima concerning the ratification of international treaties.

ARTICLE 42—The President of the State shall be the chief of the armed forces of the State. For the period of war he shall appoint a Commander-in-Chief.

ARTICLE 43—The President of the State shall declare war on the strength of the decision of the Saeima.

ARTICLE 44—The President of the State shall have the right to take steps indispensable to the military defense of the country if another State shall have declared war on Latvia, or if the enemy shall be attacking Latvian frontiers. At the same time, the President of the State shall immediately summon the Saeima which shall decide upon the declaration of war and opening of hostilities.

ARTICLE 45—The President of the State shall have the right to reprieve criminals whose sentence is being carried out. This right of reprieve does not refer to cases for which the law provides different means of reprieve. Amnesty shall be granted by the Saeima.

ARTICLE 46—The President of the State shall have the right to convoke extraordinary meetings of the Cabinet for the discussion of an agenda prepared by him and to preside over such meeting.

ARTICLE 47—The President of the State shall have the right to recommend laws.

ARTICLE 48—The President of the State shall have the right to propose the dissolution of the Saeima. This shall be followed by a vote of the people. If in such voting more than one-half of the votes are cast in favor of dissolution, the Saeima shall be considered as dissolved and new elections shall be proclaimed. These elections shall take place within two months after the dissolution of the Saeima.

ARTICLE 49—On the dissolution of the Saeima, its members shall retain their powers until the newly elected Saeima shall have assembled. The former Saeima may only assemble on being convoked by the President of the State, who shall draw up the agenda for such meetings.

ARTICLE 50—If the dissolution of the Saeima be opposed by more than one-half of the votes cast when the people's vote is taken, the President of the State shall be considered as having resigned and the Saeima shall elect a new President of the State for the duration of the unexpired period of office of the resigned President.

ARTICLE 51—On the motion of not less than one-half of the members of the Saeima, the Saeima, sitting in camera, may decide by a majority of not less than two-thirds of their number to recall the President of the State. On such

decision, the Saeima shall immediately elect a new President of the State.

ARTICLE 52—Should the President of the State resign his office, die, or be recalled before the expiration of his term of office, his duties shall be carried out by the Speaker of the Saeima until the election of the new President of the State. Likewise the Speaker of the Saeima shall take the place of the President of the State, should the latter be outside Latvian territory, or in any other way prevented from carrying out the duties of his office.

ARTICLE 53—The President of the State shall have no political responsibility for his actions. All decrees of the President of the State shall be countersigned by the Prime Minister, or any one Minister, who shall thereby assume the full responsibility for such decrees, except in cases foreseen by Articles 48 and 56.

ARTICLE 54—The President of the State may be prosecuted for criminal offenses with the sanction of the Saeima, by a majority of not less than two-thirds of its members.

SECTION IV.—THE CABINET OF MINISTERS

ARTICLE 55—The Cabinet of Ministers shall consist of the Prime Minister and Ministers invited by him.

ARTICLE 56—The Cabinet shall be formed by a person entrusted with that task by the President of the State.

ARTICLE 57—The number of Ministers and scope of their duties, as well as the mutual relations of Government departments, shall be fixed by law.

ARTICLE 58—State Executive Institutions shall be subordinate to the Cabinet.

ARTICLE 59—In carrying out their duties, the Prime Minister and Ministers shall of necessity enjoy the confidence of the Saeima and shall be responsible to the Saeima for their actions. Should the Saeima defeat the vote of confidence in the Prime Minister, the whole Cabinet shall resign. Should the Saeima defeat the vote of confidence in any particular Minister, such Minister shall resign and the Prime Minister shall invite another person to take his place.

ARTICLE 60—The meetings of the Cabinet shall be presided over by the Prime Minister, or, in his absence, by another Minister empowered by the Prime Minister.

ARTICLE 61—The Cabinet shall discuss all bills drawn up by separate Ministries and all questions concerning the activities of the various Ministries; likewise all questions of State policy put forward by individual members of the Cabinet.

ARTICLE 62—If the State be threatened by foreign invasion, or if in the State, or part thereof, disorders endangering the existing order of the State arise, or threaten to arise, the Cabinet shall have the right to proclaim extraordinary measures. The Cabinet shall notify such proclamation to the Executive Council of the Saeima within twenty-four hours and the Executive Council shall put it before the Saeima without delay.

ARTICLE 63—Ministers, even if they are not members of the Saeima, and responsible State officials empowered by Ministers shall have the

right to be present at the meetings of the Saeima or its committees and introduce amendments to bills.

SECTION V.—LEGISLATION

ARTICLE 64—The Legislative power shall be vested both in the Saeima and in the people, in the order and within the limits laid down by this Constitution.

ARTICLE 65—Bills may be presented to the Saeima by the President of the State, the Cabinet, the committees of the Saeima, not less than five members of the Saeima, or one-tenth of the voters, on occasions and in the manner foreseen by this Constitution.

ARTICLE 66—Before the commencement of each financial year, the Saeima shall pronounce on the State revenue and expenditure budget, the draft of which shall be submitted by the Cabinet.

If the Saeima pass a resolution with regard to expenditure not foreseen by the budget, it shall likewise specify in this resolution the sources of revenue with which to meet such expenditure. After the expiry of the financial year, the Cabinet shall submit accounts showing the actual realization of the budget, for the confirmation of the Saeima.

ARTICLE 67—The Saeima shall decide on the strength of the armed forces of the State in time of peace.

ARTICLE 68—The ratification of the Saeima shall be indispensable to all international agreements dealing with questions to be settled by legislative measures.

ARTICLE 69—In the ordinary course, the President of the State shall promulgate laws passed by the Saeima not before the seventh and not later than the twenty-first day after their adoption. If no other term be fixed, the laws shall come into force fourteen days after their promulgation.

ARTICLE 70—The President of the State shall publish laws by means of the following formula: "The Saeima (or the people) have adopted and the President of the State promulgates the following law": (Text of the law.)

ARTICLE 71—The President of the State shall have the right to request, by means of a letter addressed to the Speaker of the Saeima within seven days after the adoption of a law by the Saeima, the revision of that law. Should the Saeima leave the law unaltered, the President of the State shall not have the right to protest a second time.

ARTICLE 72—The President of the State shall have the right to withhold the promulgation of a law for a period of two months. He shall postpone such promulgation at the desire of not less than one-third of the members of the Saeima. This right shall be exercised by the President of the State or by one-third of the members of the Saeima, within seven days after the law shall have been adopted by the Saeima. The law, the promulgation of which has been thus postponed, shall be submitted to the vote of the people, should not less than one-tenth of the electors so desire. Should such request not be formulated within the period of two months mentioned above, the law shall be promulgated

at the expiry of this period. The people's vote, however, shall not be taken, should the Saeima put this law to the vote once more and should then not less than three-fourths of all the members be in favor of its adoption.

ARTICLE 73—The following matters shall not be put to the vote of the people: the budget, laws concerning loans, taxes, customs dues, railway tariffs, military service, the declaration of war and commencement of hostilities, the conclusion of peace, the declaration of the state of war and the end thereof, mobilization, demobilization, foreign treaties.

ARTICLE 74—A law adopted by the Saeima and postponed in the manner set forth in Article 72, may be annulled by the vote of the people, if at least half the number of those who have the right to vote shall have taken part in the suffrage.

ARTICLE 75—Should the Saeima adopt the urgency of a law with a majority of not less than two-thirds, the President of the State may not demand a second examination of such law; it may not be submitted to the vote of the people and shall be promulgated within three days after its transmission to the President.

ARTICLE 76—The Saeima may revise the Constitution at sittings at which at least two-thirds of its members shall be present. The amendments shall be passed in the course of three readings, by a majority of not less than two-thirds of the members present.

ARTICLE 77—If the Saeima shall have amended the first, second, third or sixth article of the Constitution, such amendments, in order to acquire the force of law, shall be put to the vote of the people.

ARTICLE 78—At least one-tenth of the electors shall have the right to submit to the President of the State a fully elaborated plan for the revision of the Constitution, or a bill, which shall be submitted to the Saeima by the President. Should it not be accepted by the Saeima without amendments, it shall be put to the vote of the people.

ARTICLE 79—Such amendments to the Constitution as shall have been put to the vote of the people shall be adopted, provided at least

half the number of those who have the right to vote, shall have declared themselves in favor.

ARTICLE 80—All Latvian citizens who have the right to vote in the election of the Saeima may likewise take part in the vote of the people.

ARTICLE 81—In cases of urgent necessity between sessions, the Cabinet shall have the right to issue regulations which shall have the force of law. These regulations shall not modify the law of election to the Saeima, laws bearing on judicial procedure, the budget, and laws passed by the Saeima then in power; they shall not refer to amnesty, the issue of Treasury notes, State taxes, customs dues, railway tariffs, loans, and they shall be annulled if they shall not have been presented to the Saeima within three days after the opening of the following session.

SECTION VI.—COURTS OF JUSTICE

ARTICLE 82—All citizens shall be equal before the law and the Courts of Justice.

ARTICLE 83—The Judges shall be independent and subject only to the law.

ARTICLE 84—The appointments of Judges shall be confirmed by the Saeima, and shall not be revocable. Judges may not be revoked from their functions against their will, unless it be by the decision of the Courts of Justice. The retiring age limit for Judges may be fixed by law.

ARTICLE 85—Trials by jury shall exist in Latvia in accordance with a special law.

ARTICLE 86—Justice shall be administered solely by the organs on which the right of so doing shall have been conferred by law and in the manner specified by law. The court-martial shall operate in accordance with a special law.

SECTION VII.—STATE CONTROL

ARTICLE 87—The State Control shall be an independent collegial institution.

ARTICLE 88—The State Controllers shall be appointed and confirmed in the same manner as the Judges, but only for a definite period. During such period their appointment shall not be revoked, except by the decision of the Courts of Justice. The organization of the State Control and the competency thereof shall be fixed by a special law.

IRAQ AS GREAT BRITAIN'S ALLY

Full text of treaty regarded as step toward grant of self-government—Provisions maintain close grip on Feisal's kingdom

A TREATY of alliance between Great Britain and Iraq was signed at Bagdad on Oct. 10. Although in British official quarters it is said that the treaty represents a first step toward the granting of self-government to Iraq, it will be seen from the text printed below that Great Britain will continue to exercise a very large amount of control, so large in fact that the independence of the new kingdom is merely nominal.

Sir Percy Cox, British High Commissioner and Consul General, in the course of a statement on the occasion of signing the treaty, said that everything would be done to secure the speedy delimitation of the frontiers, so that Iraq might be in a position, when the treaty and the subsidiary agreements had been ratified and the organic law had been brought into operation, to apply for membership in the League of Nations.

The full text of the treaty is as follows:

TREATY BETWEEN HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY AND HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF IRAQ

His Britannic Majesty of the one part, and his Majesty the King of Iraq of the other part:

Whereas, His Britannic Majesty has recognized Feisal Ibn Hussein as constitutional King of Iraq; and

Whereas, His Majesty the King of Iraq considers that it is to the interests of Iraq and will conduce to its rapid advancement that he should conclude a treaty with his Britannic Majesty on the basis of alliance; and

Whereas, His Britannic Majesty is satisfied that the relations between himself and his Majesty the King of Iraq can now be better defined by such a treaty of alliance than by any other means;

For this purpose the high contracting parties have appointed as their plenipotentiaries:

His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions Beyond the Seas, Emperor of India; Sir Percy Zachariah Cox, G. C. M. G., G. C. I. E., K. C. S. I., High Commissioner and Consul General of his Britannic Majesty in Iraq.

His Majesty the King of Iraq; his Highness Sir Saiyid 'Abd-ur-Rahman, G. B. E., Prime Minister and Naqib-al-Ashraf, Bagdad;

Who, having communicated their full powers,

found in good and due order, have agreed as follows:

ARTICLE 1—At the request of his Majesty the King of Iraq, his Britannic Majesty undertakes, subject to the provisions of this treaty, to provide the State of Iraq with such advice and assistance as may be required during the period of the present treaty, without prejudice to her national sovereignty. His Britannic Majesty shall be represented in Iraq by a High Commissioner and Consul General, assisted by the necessary staff.

ARTICLE 2—His Majesty the King of Iraq undertakes that for the period of the present treaty no gazetted official of other than Iraq nationality shall be appointed in Iraq without the concurrence of his Britannic Majesty. A separate agreement shall regulate the numbers and conditions of employment of British officials so appointed in the Iraq Government.

ARTICLE 3—His Majesty the King of Iraq agrees to frame an organic law for presentation to the Constituent Assembly of Iraq and to give effect to the said law, which shall contain nothing contrary to the provisions of the present treaty and shall take account of the rights, wishes and interests of all populations inhabiting Iraq. This organic law shall insure to all complete freedom of conscience and the free exercise of all forms of worship, subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals. It shall provide that no discrimination of any kind shall be made between the inhabitants of Iraq on the ground of race, religion or language, and shall secure that the right of each community to maintain its own schools for the education of its own members in its own language, while conforming to such educational requirements of a general nature as the Government of Iraq may impose, shall not be denied or impaired. It shall prescribe the constitutional procedure, whether legislative or executive, by which decisions will be taken on all matters of importance, including those involving questions of fiscal and military policy.

ARTICLE 4—Without prejudice to the provisions of Articles 17 and 18 of this treaty, his Majesty the King of Iraq agrees to be guided by the advice of his Britannic Majesty, tendered through the High Commissioner, on all important matters affecting the international and financial obligations and interests of his Britannic Majesty for the whole period of this treaty. His Majesty the King of Iraq will fully consult the High Commissioner on what is conducive to a sound financial and fiscal policy and will insure the stability and good organization of the finances of the Iraq Government so long as that

Government is under financial obligations to the Government of his Britannic Majesty.

ARTICLE 5—His Majesty the King of Iraq shall have the right of representation in London and in such other capitals and places as may be agreed upon by the high contracting parties. Where his Majesty the King of Iraq is not represented he agrees to intrust the protection of Iraq nationals to his Britannic Majesty. His Majesty the King of Iraq shall himself issue exequaturs to representatives of foreign powers in Iraq after his Britannic Majesty has agreed to their appointment.

ARTICLE 6—His Britannic Majesty undertakes to use his good offices to secure the admission of Iraq to membership of the League of Nations as soon as possible.

ARTICLE 7—His Britannic Majesty undertakes to provide such support and assistance to the armed forces of his Majesty the King of Iraq as may from time to time be agreed by the high contracting parties. A separate agreement regulating the extent and conditions of such support and assistance shall be concluded between the high contracting parties and communicated to the Council of the League of Nations.

ARTICLE 8—No territory in Iraq shall be ceded or leased or in any way placed under the control of any foreign power; this shall not prevent his Majesty the King of Iraq from making such arrangements as may be necessary for the accommodation of foreign representatives and for the fulfillment of the provisions of the preceding article.

ARTICLE 9—His Majesty the King of Iraq undertakes that he will accept and give effect to such reasonable provisions as his Britannic Majesty may consider necessary in judicial matters to safeguard the interests of foreigners in consequence of the non-application of the immunities and privileges enjoyed by them under capitulation or usage. These provisions shall be embodied in a separate agreement, which shall be communicated to the Council of the League of Nations.

ARTICLE 10—The high contracting parties agree to conclude separate agreements to secure the execution of any treaties, agreements or undertakings which his Britannic Majesty is under obligation to see carried out in respect of Iraq. His Majesty the King of Iraq undertakes to bring in any legislation necessary to insure the execution of these agreements. Such agreements shall be communicated to the Council of the League of Nations.

ARTICLE 11—There shall be no discrimination in Iraq against the nationals of any State member of the League of Nations, or of any State to which his Britannic Majesty has agreed by treaty that the same rights should be insured as it would enjoy if it were a member of the said League (including companies incorporated under the laws of such State), as compared with British nationals or those of any foreign State in matters concerning taxation, commerce or navigation, the exercise of industries or professions, or in the treatment of merchant vessels or civil aircraft. Nor shall there be any discrimination



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FEISAL, KING OF IRAQ

in Iraq against goods originating in or destined for any of the said States. There shall be freedom of transit under equitable conditions across Iraq territory.

ARTICLE 12—No measure shall be taken in Iraq to obstruct or interfere with missionary enterprise or to discriminate against any missionary on the ground of his religious belief or nationality, provided that such enterprise is not prejudicial to public order and good government.

ARTICLE 13—His Majesty the King of Iraq undertakes to co-operate, in so far as social, religious and other conditions may permit, in the execution of any common policy adopted by the League of Nations for preventing and combating disease, including diseases of plants and animals.

ARTICLE 14—His Majesty the King of Iraq undertakes to secure the enactment, within twelve months of the coming into force of this treaty, and to insure the execution of a law of antiquities based on the rules annexed to Article 421 of the Treaty of Peace signed at Sèvres on the 10th August, 1920. This law shall replace the former Ottoman Law of Antiquities, and shall insure equality of treatment in the matter of archaeological research to the nationals of all States members of the League of Nations, and of any State to which his Britannic Majesty has agreed by treaty that the same rights should be insured

as it would enjoy if it were a member of the said League.

ARTICLE 15—A separate agreement shall regulate the financial relations between the high contracting parties. It shall provide, on the one hand, for the transfer by his Britannic Majesty's Government to the Government of Iraq of such works of public utility as may be agreed upon and for the rendering by his Britannic Majesty's Government of such financial assistance as may from time to time be considered necessary for Iraq, and, on the other hand, for the progressive liquidation by the Government of Iraq of all liabilities thus incurred. Such agreement shall be communicated to the Council of the League of Nations.

ARTICLE 16—So far as is consistent with his international obligations, his Britannic Majesty undertakes to place no obstacle in the way of the association of the State of Iraq for customs or other purposes with such neighboring Arab States as may desire it.

ARTICLE 17—Any difference that may arise between the high contracting parties as to the interpretation of the provisions of this treaty shall be referred to the Permanent Court of International Justice provided for by Article 14 of the Covenant of the League of Nations. In such case, should there be any discrepancy between the English and Arabic texts of this treaty, the English shall be taken as the authoritative version.

ARTICLE 18—This treaty shall come into force as soon as it has been ratified by the high contracting parties after its acceptance by the Constituent Assembly, and shall remain in force for twenty years, at the end of which period the

situation shall be examined, and if the high contracting parties are of opinion that the treaty is no longer required it shall be terminated. Termination shall be subject to confirmation by the League of Nations unless before that date Article 6 of this treaty has come into effect, in which case notice of termination shall be communicated to the Council of the League of Nations. Nothing shall prevent the high contracting parties from reviewing from time to time the provisions of this treaty, and those of the separate agreements arising out of Articles 7, 10 and 15, with a view to any revision which may seem desirable in the circumstances then existing, and any modification which may be agreed upon by the high contracting parties shall be communicated to the Council of the League of Nations.

The ratifications shall be exchanged at Bagdad.

The present treaty has been drawn up in English and Arabic. One copy in each language will remain deposited in the archives of the Iraq Government, and one copy in each language in those of the Government of his Britannic Majesty.

IN WITNESS OF WHICH the respective plenipotentiaries have signed the present treaty and have affixed thereto their seals. Done at Bagdad in duplicate this 10th day of October, 1922, of the Christian era, corresponding with the 19th day of Safar, 1340 Hijrah.

P. Z. COX,

His Britannic Majesty's High Commissioner in Iraq.

'ABD-UR-RAHMAN,

Nagib-al-Ashraf of Bagdad and Prime Minister of the Iraq Government.



Map of the Near East, locating the new Kingdom of Iraq in Mesopotamia

PERILOUS POSITION OF PALESTINE

By A BRITISH PUBLICIST

The conflict between the races intensified—Serious problems in the Holy Land—The protests of the Arabs—The Zionist State arousing deep passions

THE position in Palestine is unsatisfactory. The local Arabs and Jews and Christians are very discontented, and so are the British, who are endeavoring to keep the peace among the quarreling tribes, nationalities, religions and sects. Palestine is a tiny and rather barren country. It contains only about 800,000 people of all religions and only about 80,000 Jews. Palestine cannot become a national home to the Jews of the world because of its totally inadequate area.

The most eminent experts doubt whether Palestine was at any time a land flowing with milk and honey. It may have appeared a paradise to the wandering desert tribes which settled there. On the other hand, it is conceivable that the original fruitfulness of the country declined, owing to neglect, as did that of the Roman Campagna, which was once famous for its crops and which has become a fever-stricken desert. Still, according to all probability, the fruitfulness of Palestine was never much greater than it is now.

According to the conventional pictures illustrating Bible story, Palestine is idyllic and an ideal agricultural land. In reality it is an unattractive and rather barren country. The Bible frequently mentions stones and weeds and tells us of thistles and other thorns. Palestine is still the country of stones, thorns, thistles and other weeds. Barren rocks abound. The cultivated fields are parched and consist very largely of loose stones; among these stones thorns, thistles and other weeds abound. The thistles are of gigantic size. The Arabs, who do practically all the cultivating, do very little to clear the land. Possibly they think the task hopeless. Pos-

sibly they are too inert to make exertion. Owing to the unevenness of the ground and the prevalence of weeds and loose stones the cutting of the harvest by modern machinery is practically impossible. The sickle is used instead, and cultivation is done with the spade and the wooden plow, as in the time of the prophets.

On July 1, 1921, the population of Palestine was as follows: Moslems, 600,000; Christians, 84,500; Israelites, 80,000; Druses, 5,700; Samaritans, 170.

The accuracy of these figures is contested. Possibly there are now a few thousand more Jews than Christians, as a considerable number of Jewish immigrants have arrived. The figures show at least that the Jews are in a small minority, if compared with the Mohammedans, and that Jews and Christians are approximately the same number.*

THE "NATIONAL HOME."

On Nov. 2, 1917, Earl Balfour addressed a letter to Lord Rothschild in which he stated on behalf of the Government:

His Majesty's Government view with favor the

*A new census was ordered Oct. 24, 1922, but the Arab leaders directed the Arabs to refuse to participate, because the count would include only those actually in Palestine on the day, excluding all who happened at the time to be away from their ordinary habitat. The Government on Oct. 22 modified the rule so as to include absentees in the census, and the leaders promised them to co-operate, but adhered to their purpose to boycott the elections. Nine Nablus notables were arrested for obstructing Government decrees, and there was some rioting, but no casualties. The notables were released on Oct. 23, 1922, and the census was proceeding.—General Sir Gilbert Clayton was appointed Civic Secretary of the Palestine Government in succession to Sir Wyndham Deeds.—The Emir Abdullah, ruler of the territory east of the Jordan, arrived in London in October; he is a brother of King Faisal of Iraq. His visit was to determine the status of Transjordan as independent of Palestine.

establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object; it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country.

This statement was greeted with the utmost enthusiasm by the Zionist Jews throughout the world. They thought little of the practical difficulties of creating a Jewish State in a country in which the Arabs owned the land and formed an overwhelming majority; in a country which would not prove very attractive to Jewish workers accustomed to very different conditions of life, and they did not realize that Palestine could at best give room only to very small numbers because of the narrowness of its territory.

It will be noticed that the Balfour declaration cautiously promised the creation of a "Jewish National Home," not a "Jewish State," which is a very different thing. The question immediately arose: What constitutes a national home? The term is a very vague one. Many Jews, especially Zionists, hoped to make Palestine a Jewish State, believing that they would be able to oust the Mohammedan Arabs in some way or other. Some local Jews, and especially recent immigrants from other countries, adopted an overbearing and aggressive attitude toward the Mohammedan majority, and very serious collisions resulted. The British found it exceedingly difficult to keep order, especially as the native police raised by them found it hard to adopt an impartial attitude.

THE JEWISH-ARAB FEUD

The Jews were encouraged in their hope of making themselves supreme by the fact that the High Commissioner appointed was of their own persuasion. It may also be that Jewish hopes were raised unduly by the fact that Hebrew was declared an official language together with English and Arabic. Furthermore, it was unfortunate that among the recent immigrants were numerous Russians and Poles, whose views had been tainted by anarchist and communist teachings.

Relations between the Jews and the

Arabs became exceedingly strained. The Jews, the Armenians and the Greeks are not loved by the Eastern Mohammedans, for while the followers of the Prophet live principally by agriculture, the Jews, Greeks and Armenians live principally by money-lending and usury, by speculation and trafficking. Their livelihood is gained by exploiting the rather guileless agriculturalists, and the latter, weary of their misery, rise periodically in indignation and exterminate their exploiters in their rage. The Arab has no objection to the Jewish religion, but he hates the Jewish money-lender. When the British troops arrived in Palestine they brought with them Egyptian pound notes. The local money changers and speculators, who saw an excellent opportunity for enriching themselves at the expense of the guileless Tommies, told them that the Egyptian pound was worth no more than the debased Turkish pound, and exchanged the former freely for the latter. On each pound so exchanged there was a profit of more than four shillings. That little trait is characteristic of the way in which business is done by the Greeks, Armenians and Jews in the Near East.

The idea of self-determination, of democracy, of representative government, of majority rule, had percolated among the Palestine Arabs. They thought that their position was secure because they formed the great majority of the inhabitants; they owned the bulk of the land and they cultivated it, while the Jews lived in the towns. The political activities of the Jews, however, filled them with concern, and they wished to obtain guarantees whereby power should be distributed among the various elements according to their number. An Arab delegation was sent to England in the Spring of 1922. It demanded a free constitution and representative government for Palestine, instead of complicated arrangements whereby the will of the people was voiceless. The Arab representatives asked why Palestine should not receive institutions which had been given to Mesopotamia and other countries. Mr. Churchill, who as Cabinet Minister looked after Palestine, stated in reply to this argument in the House of Commons:

I have decided to go to the utmost possible length in giving Palestine representative institutions without falling into a position where I could not fulfill those pledges to which we are committed by the Zionist policy. I have, however, strongly urged the Arabs to take part in the new Elective Council, and to bring their critical faculty to bear upon all questions connected with the Government of the country and with immigration.

A COMPLEX SITUATION.

The position is extraordinarily complicated. There are the differences, suspicions and worse which divide the Jews and the Arabs. In addition the Jews are divided against themselves, because they are Zionists and anti-Zionists, orthodox and unorthodox, Communists and anti-Communists, and so forth. Among the Arabs there are both religious and tribal differences which are apt to lead to sanguinary encounters. It is very difficult for a third party to keep order among these warring groups, especially as in addition to the Jews and Mahammedans there is a Christian element in the country which is approximately as strong in numbers as the Jewish. The Roman Catholic Church does not like to see the holy places of Christianity under Jewish influence and control. Moreover it does not like to see Palestine becoming a cockpit among the various elements which are striving for supremacy.

The passions of the people have been so aroused that a strong garrison is needed to keep the peace. Its withdrawal might lead not merely to bloodshed but to great massacres of the Jews, and perhaps of the Christians as well, on the part of the incensed Arabs. It is generally recognized among the inhabitants that the British

have done much good to the country, not only by keeping the peace, but also by building roads and railroads, by constructing reservoirs and improving the water supply, by introducing modern sanitation, importing new seeds, providing improved education and so forth. At the same time their presence is not liked by those who are restrained by the foreign garrison.

The creation of a National Home for the Jews has satisfied nobody, but has caused enormous expenses to the British taxpayer. It is true that the expenditure has been declining. In 1920-21 England spent in Palestine £8,000,000. In 1921-22 she spent in that country £4,000,000. In 1922-23 expenditure is expected to decline further to £2,000,000. In the years following a further shrinkage to £1,500,00 and to £1,000,000 is hoped for. Mr. Churchill, as Cabinet Minister, stated that that much criticised expenditure was "not too much for Great Britain to pay for the control and guardianship of this historic land, and for keeping the word she had given before all the nations of the world."

The prospect of a much diminished expenditure may not materialize. Local risings may require the strengthening of the British garrison, with the result of greatly adding to the expenditure. There is also the possibility of troubles with the restless border tribes and with awakened Turkey. It is not inconceivable that the Turks, after having regained Smyrna and Constantinople, may wish to regain Jerusalem as well. After all, Jerusalem is a Holy City also to the Turks, and Turkish nationalism demands the reconstruction of Turkey within the borders of 1914.

TURKEY'S ANTI-ENTENTE POLICY

By ADAMANTIOS TH. POLYZOIDES

Editor, Atlantis, Greek Daily.

The dangers of the new situation in the Near East precipitated by the Nationalist victory—Kemal taking advantage of Russian and German friendship to defy the Allies—Possibilities of war

READERS of this magazine who have been following closely the developments in the Near East in the last two or three years will have little cause for surprise at developments in Turkey which are now threatening the peace of the world. The present situation there is nothing but the inevitable culmination of the Turkish anti-Ententist policy, inaugurated almost immediately after the armistice of 1918. When the Allies imposed their terms on Turkey they failed to disarm her, and subsequently so shaped their attitude as to make of Turkey the keystone of the new alliance of the defeated nations against the victors of the great war.

How Turkey broke down under the allied onslaught, and how she capitulated in Mudros Bay on Oct. 31, 1918, and how she was ready to accept any peace at that time and six months afterward, was set forth repeatedly in a series of articles published in the pages of this magazine. In the same way we have seen how Turkey, following the failure of the victorious Allies to establish peace in the Near East, took it upon herself to prepare the way for a new war, which is as sure to come as the great conflict of 1914. Nationalist Turkey today is but a member of a new set of powers whose aims are not those of peace but of a new conflict, by which all the fruits of the great allied triumph of 1918 will be swept clear off the map if the victors do not come swiftly to the realization of what the present situation in the Near East means.

One has but to go through the maze of secret treaties, statements and other documents made public in the last two

years in order to be able to follow quite closely the evolution of the alignment of Germany, Russia and Turkey, and most assuredly Bulgaria, against the countries that won the war. The Kemalist movement first started in Erzerum under the immediate auspices of Bolshevik Russia; its first money came from Russia; its first arms and ammunition came from the Russian depots of Erzerum itself. It was long after the Russo-Turkish relations took the shape of a solid alliance that French policy somehow got wind of what was going on between Angora and Moscow and radically changed its Near Eastern policy. This was early in 1921, when the Allies were busy in London framing a common policy toward Turkey. It was then that Premier Briand of France concluded his famous treaty with Nationalist Turkey, represented in London by Bekir Sami Bey.

This treaty, by which France gave up Cilicia almost without any condition, and pledged herself to support all the national aspirations of the Turks, whether in Asia or Europe, was concluded on March 10, 1921. From that day on, Turkey was an ally of France. But six days later this same Turkey was the ally of Bolshevik Russia, through the Treaty of Kars signed on March 16, 1921, on the one hand by Youssef-Kemal Bey, with Riza Nur and Ali Fuad as the delegates of Mustapha Kemal, and on the other hand by George Chicherin and Djelal Korkmazoff, representing the Russian Soviet Government.

Exactly one month later the Rapallo Treaty was signed, on April 16, 1921, between Soviet Russia and Germany, under the eyes of the Entente Allies,

gathered in Genoa in order to solve the great economic problem of Europe. It was Chicherin himself who asked of the Italian Premier Facta that the Angora delegates be admitted to the Genoa conference, and it was at that same time that Bolshevik Russia declared its complete solidarity with the Kemalist program, and especially that part of it which affected Constantinople and the Dardanelles. Djelaleddin Arif Bey and Bekir Sami Bey, as representatives of the Angora Government in Rome, took part in a series of conferences with Chicherin and Rathenau. They were the men who brought about a more complete accord between Bolshevik Russia, Nationalist Turkey and Vindictive Germany. Thus the old Teutonic alliance was reconstituted, under entirely new conditions and on a new basis, since Russia, with her immense resources and population, took the place of the decrepit Austrian Empire.

ENTENTE WITHOUT COMMON POLICY

Once this arrangement was completed, the Entente Powers were faced with the alternative of either acknowledging their diplomatic and political as well as economic defeat or of breaking up the enemy combination either by a swift and decisive liquidation of the Turkish power or by an equally bold stand against Russia and Germany. Unfortunately, the Entente Allies could not be united in a single policy against either Turkey or Germany or Russia.

Great Britain, to begin with, adopted toward Germany and Russia a policy dictated by the absolute necessity of economic solidarity between all the powers of Europe, whether victors or vanquished. This attitude appeared to French eyes as little less than an open betrayal of the most vital interests of France. Thus the French statesmen, to counteract what they considered to be British friendship for Russia and Germany, threw the weight of French influence in the Near East to Nationalist Turkey, with the result that the triple alliance of Angora, Moscow and Berlin enlisted the support of every one of their former enemies. In this way Greek resistance in Anatolia was undermined, the

morale of the Greek Army was shattered, and the Turks won the war.

As was repeatedly told in these columns, France, in assisting Turkey, acted under the impression that no sooner would the Kemalists be victorious in the Near East than they would express their gratitude by submitting to the dictation of Paris in the same way in which they submitted to that of Berlin when Enver Pasha, instead of Kemal, was in the ascendant.

These French calculations were upset, first, by the magnitude of the Turkish success, which went far beyond France's expectations, and, second, because Great Britain, denounced in the last three years as being the secret ally of Greece, was so overwhelmed by the Greek disaster, and so alarmed by the increasing popularity of France in the Islamic world, that it immediately reversed its policy, even to the extent of overthrowing Lloyd George, sacrificing Thrace to the Turks, and offering to give Kemal anything "within reason," just in order to correct past anti-Turkish "mistakes." When the French and the British, represented respectively by M. Franklin-Bouillon and General Harington, began to compete for Turkish popularity, Kemal immediately knew that his chance had come. The conference at Mudania was the greatest demonstration of European weakness before Turkish arrogance that Europe had seen since the days of Suleïman the Magnificent, when the Empire of Osman was at the peak of its military glory. Fortunately for the Entente, there was a handy scapegoat in the person of Greece, at whose expense the Turkish claims were satisfied, at least for the time being.

TURKEY'S ARROGANT ATTITUDE

The Turks now believe that they have Europe by the throat. They saw the miserable display of allied discord in the few days preceding the Mudania conference, and they are fully aware of the unwillingness of Europe to engage in another great war. Thus they are growing bolder from one day to another, and are now facing the Entente with the statement that the Mudros armistice of 1918 no longer exists for Turkey; that the capitulations are a dead letter as far as the new Ottoman

State is concerned; that the Allies have no business in Constantinople and the Straits; and that Turkey is, after all, an independent State, whose conduct in peace and war no one else may shape or dictate.

These demands of the Turkish Nationalists mean that all the treaties, agreements and conventions concluded between Imperial Turkey and the European powers in the last hundred years are null and void, and that Turkey is the only real victor to emerge out of the greatest of all wars. Assuming that the Allies will give way to Turkey's demands, the first and immediate result will be the evacuation of Constantinople by the Entente, the transformation of the Black Sea into a Turko-Bolshevist

"lake," and the re-enthronement of Germany in Constantinople in close alliance with Kemal and Lenin. On the other hand, a resumption of the war between the Allies and Turkey threatens to bring in both the Russian and the German allies of Kemal.

What will the Balkans do under the circumstances? What will be the reactions of this allied débâcle in Central Europe? These questions will have to be answered by the Allies at the conference of Lausanne, which at this distance looks like another Brest-Litovsk, with the rôles of the principals reversed. And the most likely answer will be a new and inevitable war in the East.

SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PLOT REVEALED*

THAT the Communists were responsible for the revolutionary character which the miners' strike at Johannesburg assumed during the upheaval last Spring is the main conclusion of the commission of two Judges in the report (published Oct. 23) which they have presented to the Government of the Union of South Africa. The commission was appointed to inquire into the situation preceding the declaration of martial law on March 10. The report, after referring to the dispute between the Chamber of Mines and the Trades Unions which led to the strike, points out that during the war years the trade unions received fullest recognition by the mine owners, as in every branch of Johannesburg occupation, while "the success of the extremist for the time being justified his policy in the eyes of the rank and file." This was a governing factor in the minds of many men who joined the revolutionary ranks when the mine owners were compelled by economic causes to make proposals to reduce the cost of gold production. These proposals were represented by the strike leaders and Nationalists as attacks upon the status of the white worker by "the substitution of cheap black labor for white."

The commission is severe upon the Nationalist action in encouraging the strikers to believe that the burghers from country

districts would refuse to support the Government in suppressing disorder. It quotes a letter written by Mr. Andrews, Secretary of the South African Communist Party, to a fellow-Communist in Australia on Feb. 25. The letter runs: "The political aspect of the strike disclosed by the rapprochement between the Labor and Nationalist Parties is loose and unofficial at present, but it is possible it may develop into a working agreement on the lines of complete autonomy and independence for South Africa." Founded on such agreement was the gradual supersession of the moderate strike leaders by extremists. The moderate leaders at the beginning of March had, the commission says, "sown the wind and were about to reap the whirlwind." "Secret meetings had been held by the leaders of commandos—strikers' organizations—for a considerable time past; preparations for a revolutionary outbreak had been discussed, and a plan of campaign prepared." That there was a close connection between the South African Communists and Moscow is shown by quotations from Andrews's correspondence, showing that he anticipated the failure of the outbreak, but fomented it in the hope that the resultant discontent among the workers would aid in the communistic cause.

*See CURRENT HISTORY for April, 1922, page 161.

RUSSIA TAKES OVER VLADIVOSTOK

By LEO PASVOLSKY

A FLEET of ten Japanese transports steamed out of the harbor of Vladivostok on Oct. 26, bearing away the last Japanese soldiers from Siberia (exclusive of the garrison left in North Sakhalin, maintained pending the settlement of Japanese claims for the massacre of Nikolaevsk), and leaving the Primoria in the hands of the Russians. Thus Japan fulfilled her pledge to evacuate Siberia by or before the end of October. The occupation had cost her a total of 1,500,000,000 yen. A year ago there were 10,000 Japanese civilians on the Siberian mainland. Today there are less than 2,000, of whom 1,500 are still in Vladivostok and a few hundred in the interior. The closing scenes of the evacuation were accomplished without disorder. Representatives of the Soviet Government and of the Far Eastern Republic of Siberia took over from the Japanese the keys of the warehouses containing arms.

Repeated defeats of the White forces of General Diedrichs by the Chita troops were announced through October. The Russians had closed in on Vladivostok by Oct. 19, and the fall of the Vladivostok White Government with the completion of the Japanese withdrawal was discounted in advance. The exodus of some 15,000 civilians preceded the entrance of the

Russians. Some disorders occurred, and American and British marines were landed on Oct. 20 to guard the consulates of the two nations. General Uborevitch, commander of the Russian forces, gave assurances to the American, British and Japanese consulates before entering the city that the lives and property of the foreign residents would be protected. The Japanese Foreign Office denied that any White Guard looting had occurred under Japanese sanction. The Japanese also denied charges that part of the Czechoslovak arms deposits now finally delivered over to Russia had been sent to the Chinese insurgent general in Manchuria, Chang Tso-lin, with official Japanese approval. The mystery of the disappearance of these arms last January was officially cleared by the court-martial in Japan of Major Hara, who was sentenced to eighteen months' imprisonment on Oct. 20 for giving sixteen carloads of the Czech arms to the Whites in January. Major Hara strenuously denied that any of these arms had been transferred to Chang Tso-lin, and declared that he had delivered the arms to the Whites for patriotic reasons.

In the following article Mr. Pasvolsky analyses the effect of the Japanese evacuation on Russo-Japanese relations.

THE occupation of the City of Vladivostok by the forces of the Far Eastern Republic of Chita is an event of first-rate importance, so far as the recent developments in the Far East are concerned. Neither the Chita Government nor the Soviet leaders at Moscow are any longer at pains—as they were a year ago—to disguise the fact that the Far Eastern Republic is controlled by Moscow. With the re-establishment of the authority of the Far Eastern Republic at Vladivostok, Soviet Russia has at last pushed its boundaries to the waters of the Pacific.

The importance of this event is enhanced by the fact that the occupation of the city came directly on top of the failure of the second Russo-Japanese parley attempted in the course of the present year. At this latest parley, held at Chang-Chun, the Soviets came for the first time directly face to face with Japan in the discussion of Far Eastern problems and the extension of

their power to Vladivostok, which was foreshadowed at the time of that conference, places them in a tremendously improved strategic position and raises new considerations of far-reaching significance.

The conference at Chang-Chun opened on Sept. 4. While it was in progress the Soviet forces in Eastern Siberia, operating ostensibly under the authority of the Far Eastern Republic, made special and determined efforts to reach the coast and capture Vladivostok. The imminence of their success was so apparent during the very first week of the conference that Joffe asked Matzudaira what the Japanese intended to do with the military equipment in Vladivostok, which has been in their charge, in the event that the city should fall into the hands of the Red troops. The head of the Japanese delegation replied on Sept. 14 that, if this should happen, the Japanese Government would not oppose the transfer of the military stores to the

Far Eastern Republic. Five weeks later, when the city was actually taken by the Reds, the Japanese, after giving General Diedrichs and his troops an opportunity to leave Vladivostok, handed over to the Red command the remaining military stores. Four years after the allied and American troops landed in Vladivostok, to prevent these stores from falling into the hands of the Bolsheviks, what is left of the equipment has at last come into the latter's possession.

These events open up new possibilities for the Soviet policies in the Far East, the character of which has been foreshadowed by the course of the Chang-Chun conference and the recent discussions in the official Soviet press. The most important and immediate of these possibilities is concerned with the future status of the Far Eastern Republic.

The openly avowed purpose for which the buffer State in Eastern Siberia was originally created no longer exists. At the Tomsk conference of 1920, following the victorious sweep of the Soviet troops through Siberia, the Soviet leaders agreed to the formation of an independent ostensibly non-Communist buffer State. The situation, as it then presented itself, was thus stated by the representatives of the local groups:

"If Soviet Russia has at the present time sufficient strength to crush Japanese reaction and Japanese militarism, then the question is very simple: let the Soviet troops continue their march to Irkutsk and on beyond Irkutsk. Then no buffer State is necessary. But if Soviet Russia does not possess such forces at the present time, then, for the sake of preserving the unity of Russia and the reunification of Eastern Siberia with the rest of Russia, it is necessary to create a special democratic formation."

When this statement was made and agreed to by the Soviet leaders two years ago, Russian communism was still in its internationally virulent stage. It was perfectly obvious, under the circumstances, that the appearance of Soviet troops in Eastern Siberia would be considered by Japan as a direct menace to herself and would lead to an armed clash. For such a clash the Soviets were not prepared.

They chose, therefore, the wiser course of permitting Eastern Siberia to play at independence, though they never really relinquished their hold on the conduct of affairs there. Ostensibly a non-Communist State, the Far Eastern Republic has been controlled by Communist leaders. As the first Premier of the republic, Mr. Krasnoshchokov, put it, "Our republic has a sign, and there is writing on both sides of the sign; on one side is the word 'Democracy'; what is inscribed on the other side is for our own consumption."

In its outward organization, the Far Eastern Republic was made into a non-Soviet State. The purpose of that, as the Soviet leaders frankly admitted, was to make it possible for foreign capital to work there. Since then, however, the situation in Soviet Russia herself underwent considerable changes so far as the possibilities for foreign capital are concerned. These changes, in both the internal and the international position of Soviet Russia, have had a profound bearing on the situation in Eastern Siberia.

There seems little doubt that the next stage of the Soviet policies in the Far East will be a formal, as well as practical, liquidation of the game with an independent buffer State. The transition will be very simple. At present the Far Eastern Republic is bound to Soviet Russia by such treaty arrangements as to render it, as far as its military, economic and international affairs are concerned, virtually a part of the Soviet Federation. From that to a formal inclusion in the Federation, and the giving up of the pretense of independence, is a very slight and inconsequential step.

From the viewpoint of diplomatic strategy, however, such a step is fraught with most important possibilities for the Soviets. It would give them the formal right to demand from Japan that she deal directly with Moscow in any adjustments that she wishes to make with regard to the Russian Far East. The experience at Genoa, where Japan, as well as Soviet Russia, was officially represented, and the more recent experience at Chang-Chun, render such direct negotiations between Tokio and Moscow not impossible.

Japan seeks certain definite advantages

in the Russian Far East. The most important of these advantages consists of the removal of the limitations affecting Japanese subjects which existed before the revolution. For example, certain fishing areas were closed to the Japanese by treaty arrangements; and rights of navigation on the Amur and Sungari Rivers, open to the Russians and the Chinese, have been denied the Japanese. Japan wants the removal of these limitations by formal acknowledgment. This was the third point of the Japanese agenda at Chang-Chun.* In his discussion of this point at the conference there, Adolph Joffe, the Soviet diplomatic representative, announced in no uncertain terms that Moscow was willing to discuss these advantages, but that the mere withdrawal of the Japanese troops from Siberia and the return of Russian property held by the Japanese during the occupation was not considered sufficient basis of compensation.

The line of policy which the Soviet diplomacy is now trying to follow with regard to Japan is based on the contention that both Soviet Russia and Japan have reason to be dissatisfied with Western Europe and the United States. The Soviet leaders argue that Japan, as a newly developed capitalistic power, is naturally an object of enmity on the part of the older capitalistic powers, who are attempting to isolate her, to push her into dangerous adventures on the Continent of Asia, and then abandon her to her fate, when resentment and hatred shall have reached their culminating point, so far as Russia and China are concerned, and shall have led to an open struggle between the Island Empire and the two giants of the continent. As Karl Radek has put it rather picturesquely: "With the awakening Chinese people, and the great people of Russia, organized by the Soviet Government, as her enemies, Japan would find herself chained to the Continent of Asia

and abandoned by the other capitalistic States to her fate, which would consist of being torn to pieces by her embittered neighbors."

As an alternative for this, the Soviets suggest to Japan a close and friendly rapprochement. They stress particularly the point that "Soviet Russia is the only country on earth that really makes no distinction of race and color." They argue that once Japan has come to a friendly understanding with the Soviets, she would have nothing more to fear on the continent, and would be in a much stronger position to deal with the other capitalistic powers, while, at the same time, Soviet Russia "will give the Japanese the same opportunities and rights as she will any other foreigners for the utilization of their skill and labor on Russian territory."

There is a distinct line of policy in these overtures. Genoa and The Hague have shown, in spite of even the Russo-German Rapallo treaty, that the Soviets have not succeeded in breaking the essential unity of the general attitude toward them on the part of the great powers. They are now attempting to break this unity at what they consider its weakest link—Japan.

This new turn of Soviet diplomacy in the Far East opens up to Japan three major lines of policy. First, she may accept the overtures now being made by the Soviets, break away from the essential, though precarious, unity of the great powers with regard to Soviet Russia, and proceed to enter into definite relations with Moscow, which would inevitably entail an official recognition of the Soviet régime. Second, either she or the Soviets may, deliberately or otherwise, provoke or utilize some incident that may lead to an armed struggle between them. Third, things may remain in the same uncertain and indefinite state in which they have been hitherto, pending either a fundamental change in Russia herself or a concerted and radical reversal of the policy toward the Soviet régime on the part of the great world powers.

It seems more than likely that Japan will follow the third of these lines of policy—that she will not endanger her position in world affairs by casting her lot with the Soviet régime.

*The three points were:

1. Guarantees of life and property for Japanese subjects on the territory of the Far Eastern Republic.

2. Safeguards against direct or indirect menace to the boundaries between the Far Eastern Republic and Japan.

3. The abrogation of all limitations for Japanese subjects in the domain of economic activities.

NORTH SLESVIG UNDER DANISH RULE

By FINN T. B. FRIIS

IN the Summer of 1920 North Slesvig was reunited with Denmark after 56 years of Prussian rule. According to the clauses in the Versailles Treaty, worked out after the wishes of the Danish people, the result of plebiscites held in February and March, 1920, was made the base of the new frontier. The first Slesvig zone, voting as a whole, cast 75 per cent of the total vote for Denmark. The second zone, Central Slesvig, where the Danish vote only in two small localities was heavy enough to outweigh that of the Germans, stayed with Germany.

The territory which Denmark received back, thanks to the national loyalty of the North Slesvig Danes and the victory of the Allies, comprises about 1,800 square miles with a population of 165,000. Small as this may seem to American readers, it represents about 10 per cent. of the total area of Denmark, and 5 per cent. of her population. The country is almost entirely agricultural.

Three months after the reunion the amendments to the Danish Constitution, which were needed to give the new provinces a representation in the Legislature, had been finally passed, and in October, 1920, the first representatives from North Slesvig took their seats in the Folketing (lower house) and Landsting (upper house).

Shortly after the plebiscites Denmark took over administration of the posts, telegraphs, and railroads. In July other Danish officials went down to replace the large staff of German and Prussian employes. The retiring officials have been treated rather liberally as regards pensions, but many of them, who do not belong to the ceded territory itself, have now gone south.

North Slesvig has had to undergo a complete economic new orientation, toward the north instead of toward the south. The farmers seem to have adjusted themselves to the new conditions rather easily. Other industries, especially

the fishery industry, which had always turned to the German cities for its market, have had a hard time. The city trades have been badly hit by the very strong competition from the German merchants a few miles to the south.

The abnormal currency and exchange conditions in Germany presented a particular problem which has complicated the economic incorporation of Slesvig very much.

Danish money was at once introduced as legal tender in North Slesvig, while German money was to be accepted provisionally, but only at its actual exchange value. Mortgages and other debts, fixed in marks (with the exception of permanent rents and some special contributions), could be paid in kroner at the current rate of exchange.

This procedure caused considerable hardships to large groups of the people, and the Danish Government undertook to relieve the worst difficulties. The part of the people who really suffered were the owners of cash fortunes and persons with fixed incomes: capitalists, retired pensioners, and so forth. Their buying power had been constantly reduced during the war; now they were actually threatened with ruin. Denmark generously offered to convert their mark incomes and capitals (up to a certain maximum) into kroner at par value. This relief-measure was necessary to prevent a large proportion of the Slesvig population from becoming paupers, but it has cost the Danish government between 50,000,000 and 100,000,000 kroner (\$10,000,000 to \$20,000,000 at the present rate of exchange). At the same time considerable amounts of Danish kroner were placed at the disposal of banks and manufacturers in North Slesvig as loans at a moderate interest rate.

According to the Versailles Treaty (ch. 254-56), Denmark, as well as other countries, acquiring former German territory,

was held to pay to the Allies, to the credit of the German reparation account: (1) The estimated value of the properties of the German Empire and the Prussian State in the ceded districts; and (2) a proportionate share in the public debt of Germany and Prussia (pre-war status). After negotiations between a representative of the Danish Government and the Reparation Commission in Paris, the aggregate payment of Denmark was fixed at a lump sum of 65,000,000 gold marks, equal to \$15,500,000. This amount was paid at once out of the proceeds of a Danish loan, floated in the United States.

The sums spent for currency regulation and the payment to the Allies were not the only expenses incurred by Denmark through the return of North Slesvig. Huge outlays are needed for the reconstruction of the highway system, the maintenance of which has been completely neglected during the war. Furthermore, the railroad system in the regained provinces is very badly suited to the new circumstances, and must be partly abandoned or rebuilt. It will thus be understood that the incorporation is a rather expensive affair. This circumstance has not interfered with the general rejoicing over the reunion, but it has had a very marked influence on the present financial situation in Denmark.

Although Denmark is under no legal obligation to take over the care of the thousands of disabled veterans in North Slesvig who fought in the German Army for a cause which was not theirs, she recognizes her moral duty to assist them in their hardships.

This important question, as well as many other economic and administrative problems arising out of the transfer, have during the last two years been the subject of negotiations between representatives of the German and Danish Governments. They have been conducted in a conciliatory spirit, and a few months ago the final results were made public in the form of a series of treaties, which have now been ratified by the Legislatures of the two countries.

The most important problem connected with the future of North Slesvig is undoubtedly the position and treatment of the German minority now within the borders of Denmark. It is probably safe to say

that the German element at present does not exceed 20,000 or 25,000 out of a total population of about 170,000.

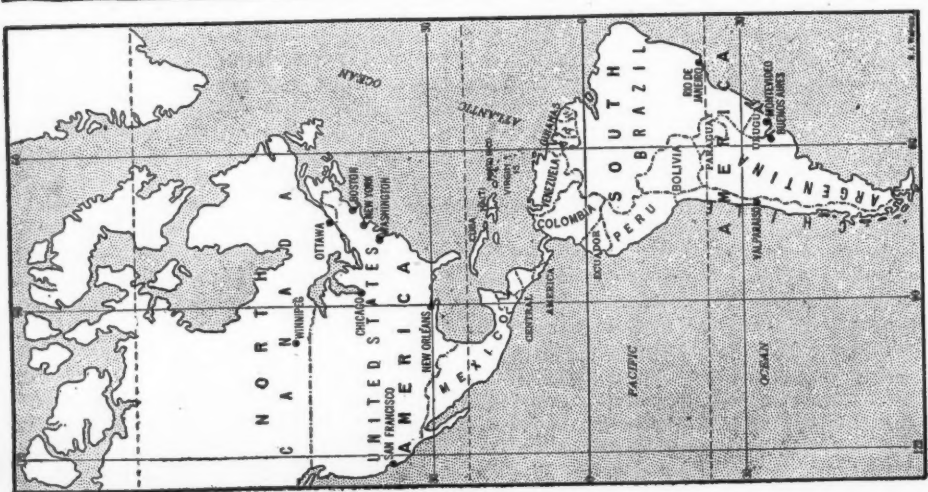
How is Denmark going to treat this foreign minority? The most important test of a sincere intention to treat a foreign minority fairly is undoubtedly the regulations of its right to use its own language in school, in church and at meetings.

In the cities, where most of the Germans live, the Danish authorities have now established two parallel sets of public schools (primary and secondary), or departments of the same school, one Danish and one German. The parents have an absolutely free choice between the Danish and the German school for their children. The Danish schools give instruction in German (as all secondary schools in Denmark do), and the German schools must give a few hours a week to instruction in Danish language and history. In the rural districts German public schools are established wherever 20 per cent. of the parents in the community demand it. In addition, the German population is at perfect liberty to educate its children in private schools—a right granted all persons in Denmark—provided that certain minimum standards are maintained.

In the rural or urban congregations of the Danish (Lutheran) State Church, the majority of the members decides whether the principal language in the local church shall be Danish or German, but the minority has ample opportunity for services in the other language in the same church.

In the councils of cities and counties the right of the German minority to use its own language is recognized.

To sum up, the North Slesvig question, which for the last 50 years has been a barrier against friendly feelings between Germany and Denmark, is now being solved in a way which ought to clear the road to a mutual understanding and to better future relations between the two nations. The Danish people have tried to do their duty towards the Germans north of the border, and hope that the German people will fully realize *their* duty. Denmark cannot rely upon a strong military force to protect her new frontier, but she will try to maintain it through a policy of national righteousness and good-will.



MAP SHOWING THE COUNTRIES OF THE WORLD WHOSE DOINGS DURING THE MONTH ARE RECORDED ON THE FOLLOWING PAGES

EVENTS OF A MONTH THROUGHOUT THE WORLD

[PERIOD ENDED NOV. 10, 1922]

UNITED STATES

The State and Congressional elections on Nov. 7 went heavily in favor of the Democratic Party. This had been to some extent discounted in public opinion by the fact that in the second year following a Presidential election the tendency is against the party in power. The Republicans had expected a marked diminution in the number of members of that party elected to the House, and were also apprehensive that some seats would be lost in the Senate, but they were somewhat staggered at the extent of the popular verdict against the party. Complaints had sometimes been voiced in the preceding two years that the Republican majority in Congress was unwieldy, but no such complaint can be brought in regard to the newly elected House. Reports at the time of writing indicated that the Republican majority in the House had been cut down from 165 to 5, and that the Republican margin in the Senate would be but 8, where formerly it was 24. The result will make it much more difficult for the party to control legislation, especially as some of the more progressive members elected may be expected on some issues to side with the Democrats.

As the Senatorial situation appeared from the latest returns received up to Nov. 10 the political line-up in that body for the last two years of President Harding's term will be as follows:

Republicans	52
Democrats	43
Farmer-Labor	1
Republican majority	8

The political classification of the House in the next Congress appeared to be:

Republicans	220
Democrats	212
Socialist	1
Independent	1
Farmer-Labor	1
Republican majority	5

Belated returns may change this tabulation slightly, but not materially.

The Socialist elected to the House was Victor L. Berger of Milwaukee, who on two prior elections had not been allowed to take his seat in the House because he had been convicted under the wartime laws concerning seditious utterances. Since then the United States Supreme Court has set aside Berger's conviction, and this may enable him to obtain a seat.

The Independent elected was the Rev. O. J.

Kvale, who ran for Congress without the endorsement of any political party and has won the distinction of defeating Representative Andrew J. Volstead, father of the prohibition enforcement law which bears his name. In spite of the fact that he declared he was "drier than Volstead," Mr. Kvale was supported by the Association Opposed to the Prohibition Amendment, of which Captain William H. Stayton of Washington is President. The association's purpose was to defeat Volstead, even at the price of putting another prohibitionist in his place.

The prohibition question figured in the campaigns of a large number of candidates for the Senate and House who stood for election on Tuesday. In some States prohibition was an issue in nearly every Congress district. The "wets" scored heavily in Wisconsin, where seven of the candidates elected to the House had declared themselves in favor of modifying the Volstead act. Wisconsin also elected four "drys" to Congress.

Senator Reed of Missouri and Governor Edwards of New Jersey, Democratic candidates for the Senate, ran as avowed "wets," and both were elected. In Michigan two "wets" were elected to the House, one a Republican and one a Democrat, but their success was partially offset by the election of Hudson, Republican, in the Sixth District of that State, formerly head of the Michigan Anti-Saloon League. "Wets" or "drys" were elected to Congress here and there in a number of States. Ohio, however, rejected a wine and beer amendment by a majority of over 130,000.

Notable features of the election were the victory of Ferris, the first Democratic Senator that Michigan has had in seventy years; the tremendous majority of 400,000 rolled up for Governor Smith in New York; the close margin by which Senator Lodge was re-elected in Massachusetts; the passing out of well-known figures like Kellogg, Du Pont, Townsend, Calder, Pomerene and possibly Poindexter, and the election of a woman, Mrs. Winifred Mason Huck, Republican, as Congressman at Large in Illinois.

DEFENSE OF FOREIGN POLICIES

In a notable address in Symphony Hall, Boston, Mass., Oct. 30, Secretary of State Hughes defended the foreign policies of the Administration. He declared that the keynote of the Administration in foreign affairs was "friendship for all nations, alliances with none." Our aim, he stated, was "hopefulness, but not entanglement." The Arms Conference was cited as a

proof of our friendship and our desire for peace with all the world. He warned against the United States assuming the rôle of dictator in the affairs of foreign nations.

"To us," the Secretary said in part, "international co-operation does not mean that we should embroil ourselves in controversies not involving our own interests, but growing out of the age-long rivalries and conflicting interests of European powers having policies which we do not assume to criticise, but in which we have no share. There is no reason why we should fritter away our helpful influence by becoming a partisan of either party to such controversies, much less make the fatal mistake of attempting to assume the rôle of dictator.

"Meanwhile, we have been unstinting in such practical assistance as could be given. No appeal for the starving and distressed has been made to generous America in vain. Hundreds of millions of dollars have been poured out in relief. What is even more important is that a host of productive undertakings in Europe have turned to America for help, and have not been denied. The help needed has been credit, and the response has been made in about four billions of dollars invested by our people in Europe since the armistice."

AMERICA'S NEAR EAST POLICY

The formal refusal of the American Government to accept the invitation of the allied powers for full-fledged participation by the United States in the Near East Peace Conference was made public at the State Department Oct. 31, after its transmittal to the British, French and Italian Governments through the American Embassies in London, Paris and Rome.

After giving the reasons on which this Government based its declination to participate in the final peace negotiations between the allied powers, Turkey and Greece, and informing the powers of the willingness of the United States to send observers to the proposed peace conference, if this action were agreeable to the powers concerned, the American communication declared that the United States had no intention of seeking for itself or its nationals any position of special privilege, but did desire to protect its rights and assure the open door in the Near East.

The American communication took the form of an aide-memoire, which emphasized the fact that though this Government felt that it could not participate in a conference that dealt with problems resulting from the state of belligerency, and which were to be treated in the proposed treaty of peace with Turkey, the United States did have important interests in the Near East which it was not disposed to relinquish. For that reason this country would like to have observers at Lausanne instructed to keep the Government in Washington fully informed as to the attitude of the powers toward those matters in which there were mutual interests, and similarly to advise the powers regarding the attitude of the United States.

A summary of subjects that interested the United States was thus stated in the communication:

1. The maintenance of "capitulations" which may be essential to the appropriate safeguarding of non-Moslem interests;

2. The protection, under proper guarantees, of philanthropic, educational and religious institutions;

3. Appropriate undertakings in regard to the freedom of opportunity, without discrimination or special privilege, for commercial enterprise;

4. Indemnity for losses suffered by Americans in Turkey as a result of arbitrary and illegal acts;

5. Suitable provisions for the protection of minorities;

6. Assurances touching the freedom of the Straits;

7. Reasonable opportunity for archaeological research and study.

DRY SHIP RULING UPHELD

In a sweeping decision, upholding the Government on every point, Federal Judge Learned Hand on Oct. 24 dismissed the motion of foreign and American steamship companies for a permanent injunction restraining Federal officials from prohibiting the transportation of alcoholic liquors even under seal into the United States. The only exception made was in the case of "grog" or liquor rations for crews on foreign vessels. Judge Hand ruled that foreign ships might carry in their stores a stock necessary for the crew's rations on the east-bound voyage, if the steamship companies each gave a bond of \$25,000 "conditional against the use of such stocks for any other purpose than as crew's rations." The exception was conditioned on the complainants taking an immediate appeal to the United States Supreme Court.

A supplemental decision, rendered Oct. 28 by Judge Hand, in the appeals in equity filed in behalf of American steamship companies which sought to enjoin the enforcement of Attorney General Daugherty's "dry" ship ruling, declared that ships flying the American flag wherever they may be are American territory, and as such are subject to the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead act and cannot sell or transport intoxicating liquors in any part of the world.

"It would be a curious thing," said Judge Hand in his opinion, "if a country professing under its fundamental law to forbid the use of intoxicants were to allow them without stint upon ships that sailed under its flag. The only distinction pressed is the disastrous consequences to an American merchant marine if, of all ships at sea, ours alone were within this ban.

"In the first place, the discrimination applies only to passenger vessels, which are a small part of any merchant marine. The whole argument is, however, misconceived. The Eighteenth Amendment involves the destruction at a blow of property values far greater than that of the whole passenger fleet. The motives which directed it disregarded ordinary commercial interests. It was a reform based upon the belief that the use of alcohol was one of the great evils of modern life, against whose utter extirpation no present rights of property might stand."

WOMEN'S WAGE LAW INVALID

Because women have been accorded equality with men in the political and commercial world, they are no longer entitled to the special protection which has been their right from time immemorial, according to the decision of the District of Columbia Court of Appeals, Nov. 6, in declaring the Minimum Wage law of the District of Columbia invalid.

The decision, made in the case of the Children's Hospital, which fought against a minimum wage of \$16.50 weekly for its women workers, declared that "the constitutional limitations upon Congress involve fundamental principles of human rights reserved to the whole people, and not any favored class of citizenship." No reason is apparent, it was contended, why the operation of the law should be extended to women to the exclusion of men, since women have been accorded full equality with men in the commercial and political world. Indeed, this equality in law has been sanctioned by constitutional amendments, and so fixed has a tendency in this direction become established in English-speaking lands that woman's opportunity for official and business preferment upon complete equality with men is limited only by the scope of her aspirations.

CONVENTION OF AMERICAN LEGION

The annual convention of the American Legion was held at New Orleans, La., Oct. 17-20. Major Alvin M. Owsley of Denison, Texas, was elected National Commander on the first ballot, receiving more than twice as many votes as his strongest rival, Colonel William E. Deegan of New York.

Major Owsley is 34 years old. He is a native Texan and a graduate of the Virginia Military Institute. When Congress declared war he entered the service and went overseas as a battalion commander of the Thirty-sixth Division. He participated in the battles of the Argonne and Champagne. Major Owsley is a lawyer and a former Assistant Attorney General of Texas.

Four outstanding policies to which Major Owsley pledged himself to devote the best that is in him he listed as, first, adequate hospitalization for wounded and disabled veterans; second, rehabilitation; third, the enactment of an adjusted compensation law, and, fourth, the carrying forward of the Legion's Americanization program.

It was voted by the Legion to continue to fight in the next Congress for the enactment of a soldiers' bonus law. With a hurrah and with only one of the more than a thousand voting delegates shouting "no," the Legion adopted the resolution expressing the hope that an adjusted compensation bill would be passed without delay, so that "the Legion might devote all of its energies to the other constructive measures of its program productive of good to the nation we serve."

A resolution was also adopted demanding the removal of Brig. Gen. Charles E. Sawyer, President Harding's personal physician, as chief co-ordinator of the Federal Hospitalization Ward. The resolution asserted that Brig. Gen.

Sawyer had hampered the efforts of Director Forbes of the Federal Bureau to complete hospital facilities authorized by Congress, that he had shown his "utter inability" to understand the problem of the disabled veterans, and that he was more interested in making a money-saving showing than he was in saving the lives of men who gave their all to the country in its hour of need.

Regarding this resolution it was semi-officially stated at the White House that the President would not remove nor ask for the resignation of Brig. Gen. Sawyer, and that President Harding assumed full responsibility for all his acts while in office.

"LIVING WAGE" THEORY UNTENABLE

Attacking the theory of the "living wage" as a basis for determining the wages of railroad workers, the public and railroad groups of the Railway Labor Board, in an opinion made public Oct. 29, asserted that such a course if carried to its legitimate conclusion would wreck every railroad in the United States, and if extended to other industries would carry them into communistic ruin.

The phrase "living wage" was termed, in the opinion, "a bit of mellifluous phraseology, well calculated to deceive the unthinking." "If the contentions were that the board should establish a 'living wage' the majority would readily accede to the proposition," the opinion said, "and, as a matter of fact, the board in this instance, as in all others, has granted a living wage. But the abstract, elusive thing called 'the living wage,' confessedly based upon a makeshift and a guess, cannot receive the sanction of this board, because it would be utterly impractical and would not be 'just and reasonable,' as the law demands."

The opinion elicited bitter criticism from Mr. Gompers and many of the heads of labor unions, who declared that it was rendered in the interests of railway and other corporations, and was inhuman and heartless in its language and implications.

NATIONAL BANK SAVINGS

The increasing prosperity and thrift of the public are reflected in the reports received on June 30 last from national banks, relating particularly to the number of savings accounts and savings deposits, according to a statement issued Oct. 17 by the Controller of the Currency, Mr. Crissinger. The number of savings depositors increased 764,085, and the amount of the deposits \$88,499,000, as compared with June 30, 1921. The total of such deposits in the national banks was \$3,046,054,000 and the number of depositors was 8,873,327. Eastern banks ranked first in the number of depositors and the amount of deposits, with 3,229,508 and \$1,196,300,000, respectively. The Middle Western States were second, with 2,619,410 depositors and \$733,873,000 deposits, and the Southern States third, with 1,332,389 depositors and \$469,494,000 deposits.

SPECIAL SESSION CALLED

President Harding on Nov. 9 issued a proclamation calling Congress to convene in extra session on Nov. 20. The proclamation stated that the convening of Congress was required because of an "extraordinary occasion" and because required by "public interests."

RESIGNATION OF JUSTICE DAY

Associate Justice William R. Day of the United States Supreme Court placed his resignation in the hands of President Harding on Oct. 24, to take effect Nov. 14. The resignation was accepted by the President. By resigning, Justice Day will be able to devote his undivided attention to his duties as umpire on the American-German Claims Commission. His action places him on the retired list of the court on full pay.

Justice Day, who is 73 years old, was introduced to national life by President McKinley, who brought him to Washington from Ohio in 1897 as Assistant Secretary of State. He soon succeeded to the post of Secretary of State, but in a few months resigned to become Chairman of the American Peace Commission to Paris, at the close of the war with Spain. He was appointed to the Supreme Court by President Roosevelt in 1903.

PORTO RICO

Removal of E. Mont Reily as Governor of Porto Rico was asked by Martin Travieso, Mayor of San Juan, in an interview with Secretary Weeks on Oct. 19, and later with President Harding. The removal of the Governor, he said, was essential for the welfare of the island politically and economically. Antonio R. Barcelo, President of the Porto Rican Senate, arrived in Washington on Oct. 28 with the same demand.

The Porto Rican Chamber of Commerce, the Rotary Club and Governor Reily, on Oct. 25, advised Washington that all foreign shipping threatens to follow the action of two lines in withdrawing from the island because of the order of Attorney General Daugherty prohibiting the sale of alcoholic beverages on American ships.

PHILIPPINES

The Collectivista Party, led by Manuel Quezon, at its first annual convention on Oct. 12, adopted a plank in its platform declaring that the Governor General, Vice Governor and members of the Supreme Court should be Filipinos.

A resolution was introduced in the Philippine House of Representatives on Oct. 28, asking the United States to recognize the rights of the Philippine Islands to independence, and also that a date be fixed for the summoning of a convention to frame a Constitution on which an independent republic would be founded. The resolution, which is supported by the combined Collectivista and Nacionalista parties, was also introduced in the Senate.

PANAMA

Conferences are in progress in Washington concerning proposed changes in the treaty with Panama. The United States wishes to remove all causes of friction with Panama over the exact territorial limits of the Canal Zone, and to establish a free port for commercial purposes. To do this it will be necessary to rescind several executive orders (known as the "Taft agreement") relating to imports, clearances and docking privileges, which were confirmed by legislation after construction work on the canal had begun.

GREAT BRITAIN

An event, the importance of which was immediately recognized as extending far beyond the shores of Great Britain, occurred on Oct. 19, when, at a Unionist meeting at the Carlton Club, the Coalition was broken by a vote of 186 to 87. Premier Lloyd George promptly handed in his resignation and that of his Government to the King, at the same time advising that Mr. Andrew Bonar Law, the Conservative leader, be sent for to form a new Government. Mr. Bonar Law, after consulting with his political supporters, undertook the task, and on Oct. 25 announced the major composition of his Cabinet as follows:

ANDREW BONAR LAW—Premier and First Lord of the Treasury.

MARQUIS OF SALISBURY—Lord President of the Council.

VISCOUNT CAVE—Lord High Chancellor.

STANLEY BALDWIN—Chancellor of the Exchequer.

WILLIAM C. BRIDGEMAN—Secretary for Home Affairs.

MARQUIS CURZON—Secretary for Foreign Affairs.

THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE—Secretary for the Colonies.

VISCOUNT PEEL—Secretary for India.

THE EARL OF DERBY—Secretary for War.

LIEUT. COL. L. C. M. S. AMERY—First Lord of the Admiralty.

SIR PHILIP LLOYD-GREAME—President of the Board of Trade.

SIR ARTHUR GRIFFITH-BOSCAWEN—Minister of Health.

SIR ROBERT A. SANDERS—Minister of Agriculture.

VISCOUNT NOVAR—Secretary for Scotland.

DOUGLAS MCG. HOGG—Attorney General.

THE HON. W. A. WATSON—Lord Advocate.

EDWARD F. L. WOOD—President of the Board of Education.

On Oct. 31 the Cabinet list was completed with the following appointments: Sir Montague Barlow, Minister of Labor; Neville Chamberlain, Postmaster General; Major G. C. Tryon, Minister of Pensions; T. W. H. Inskip, Solicitor General, and Sir W. J. Hicks and Sir Samuel Hoare, Ministers of Overseas Trade and Air, respectively.

On Oct. 26 the King signed a royal proclamation dissolving Parliament, and ordering the as-

sembly of a new Parliament on Nov. 20. A further proclamation authorized a meeting of Scottish peers at Holyrood Palace on Nov. 6 to elect sixteen representative peers in Parliament. The polling was set for Nov. 15. Early after the outset of the campaign over 1,300 candidates were entered, in round numbers divided into four parties: Conservatives, about 435; Labor, 410; Asquithian or Free Liberal, 300, and Lloyd George or National Liberals, 200.

The International Maritime Prohibition question failed of a settlement through the British Government's rejection on Oct. 16 of Secretary Hughes's proposal of June 20 for a treaty between the two nations, under which the authorities of each would be authorized to exercise beyond the three-mile limit of territorial waters the right of search for the purpose of preventing the smuggling of liquor into the United States. The problem was further complicated by the announcement of the British marine authorities of London that American ships must comply with the British law providing that every vessel leaving a British port carry a gallon of brandy as "medical comforts" for every hundred steerage passengers, even though American ships had been ordered "bone-dry."

Amity between Great Britain and the United States was voiced in Washington on Oct. 12 by Sir Charles C. Wakefield, former Lord Mayor of London, and Chief Justice Taft, on the occasion of the presentation to the American people by the Sulgrave Institution of England of the busts of Edmund Burke and James Bryce.

IRELAND

The third reading of the Irish Constitution was passed by the Provisional Parliament on Oct. 25. In a notable speech Deputy John Milroy described the document as the greatest triumph for Ireland since the Battle of Kinsale, and declared that future generations would bless the names of Michael Collins and Arthur Griffith, to whom it was a monument. It remained for the bill to pass the British Parliament to satisfy all legal requirements in setting up the Irish Free State; this will be followed by the summoning of the First Free State Parliament according to the Constitution, and the selection of a Free State Cabinet.

Disagreement among Republican leaders was indicated in some of De Valera's correspondence captured by the Government and published in a White Paper. In a letter of Sept. 12 to Liam Lynch, the Republican Army chief, De Valera wrote: "The position of the political party must be straightened out. If it is the policy of the party to leave it all to the army the obvious thing for the members to do was to resign as public representatives."

With no uncertain voice the Catholic Church lent the weight of its influence to the restitution of law and order in a pastoral letter issued by the hierarchy on Oct. 10, condemning in strong terms the revolt and guerrilla warfare against the Irish Provisional Government. This document was believed to have been the incentive

to an incident, the first of its kind in the history of Catholic Ireland, when Cardinal Logue and other churchmen were made the objects of a hostile demonstration outside the Mansion House, Dublin, by about 100 women.

The political crisis in England came as a surprise, and caused much speculation over the possible attitude of a Conservative British Government toward the Irish Treaty, even though it was asserted that the next British Parliament, if packed with Die-Hards, could not alter a syllable. A reassuring message from ex-Premier Lloyd George and a statement in the same vein from Premier Bonar Law considerably allayed such fears, but the crisis served to stimulate De Valera and his Republicans into renewed hostilities.

With the expiration of the Government's offer of amnesty to the Republicans on Oct. 15, it was found that the offer had been practically ignored. The Government thereupon empowered the military to punish offenders with death, deportation, imprisonment or fine, and ordered the new courts constituted to deal with such offenses to proceed forthwith. The "Republican Army Executive" retaliated by posting a proclamation throughout Dublin warning the public that any one giving information leading to the punishment of Republicans by the new courts would be regarded as a spy, and that those acting as members of the courts would be punished for their offenses against the republic. Newspapers were also warned to cease using the term "irregulars" as applied to the republicans.

The suppression of a mutiny in Mountjoy Prison on Oct. 10 and the discovery later of stores of explosive chemicals for the manufacture of mines and bombs caused comment on the enormous scale upon which bombs were being made all over Ireland and distributed broadcast, even to the extent of being "carried about the streets by little boys who hurl them at the National troops and kill civilians." Another aspect of terrorism was indicated in the phrase "assassination for ungiven reasons," which was coming into more frequent use.

Fighting on less than army scale continued in various parts of the country, but with the Republicans still in sufficient strength in the South and West to provide some brisk actions. On Oct. 31 the Republicans won a fierce ten-hour fight at Clifton, Galway, in which they captured eighty Nationals with their rifles and ammunition. Raids by Nationalist forces in Dublin on Nov. 4 resulted in the death of General O'Malley, Assistant Chief of Staff of the Republican Army, and the capture of Miss Mary MacSwiney, Mrs. Humphreys, Mme. O'Rahilly and Mrs. Tom Clark, all of whom subsequently went on a hunger strike. Sharp encounters were witnessed in Donegal, Dundalk and Dublin.

In a speech in the Northern Parliament on Oct. 10, Sir James Craig, the Premier, described conditions as more satisfactory than on any occasion since the Northern Government undertook the responsibility of self-government. He denied that there would be any change of policy on the part of the Government, and asserted that Northern Ireland would never consent to

come under the rule of the Dublin Parliament. Sir James said it was proposed to 'set up a royal commission to investigate and report on the subject of temperance reform with a view to legislation. An attempt was made on the life of Sir William Coates, Lord Mayor of Belfast, on the night of Oct. 14, when a bomb, with fuse attached, was placed in the hall of Sir William's residence at Carrickfergus, the ancestral home of Stonewall Jackson. The vigilance of the guards frustrated the attempt. The would-be assassin escaped in the darkness.

CANADA

With the consent of the British Government to permit Canadians to negotiate directly with the American State Department on the framing of a new treaty regulating naval strength on the Great Lakes, preliminary exchanges were initiated, and resulted in an agreement to dispense entirely with naval vessels on the Great Lakes, and to replace those in commission there with revenue cutters. Such other questions as fisheries, waterways and smuggling were reserved for separate treatment.

In view of the willingness of many desirable English people to emigrate to Canada, a committee of the Federal Cabinet discussed with C. O. Smith, Superintendent of Immigration in London, the advisability of letting down the immigration bars, and adopting the Australian plan of selective and financially assisted immigration.

An increase of \$806,934 was shown in the September revenue from customs and excise for Toronto, the total figures for the month in 1921 and 1922 being \$3,643,066, as against \$4,450,000, respectively.

The Council of the Six Nations, in reasserting a claim to a home on the reserve as allies of the British, but as neither British nor Canadian subjects, refused to submit their status as Indians and various claims upon the Government to three Judges of the Ontario Supreme Court, and proposed the appointment of a Board of Arbitration, to consist of three members, one to be named by the Government, one by the Six Nations, and these two to select a third.

Definite announcement was made in Washington on Nov. 2 that Canada had been granted a direct official diplomatic representative to the United States, with the probable title of High Commissioner. This action was regarded as of considerable international importance, and likely to lead to similar representation for the Irish Free State and other British dominions.

Plans for a chain of Dominion wireless stations in the Arctic were announced on Nov. 8 as completed for Fort Smith, Resolution, Simpson, Norman and at McPherson on the Mackenzie and at Dawson City.

AUSTRALIA

An agreement between the Commonwealth and the Victorian Government for nationally assisted introduction into Victoria of 2,000 new settlers,

as a first instalment of 10,000, was intended to be the initial step in a comprehensive scheme under which £36,000,000 is to be spent on immigration. By similar co-operation with the other States of the Commonwealth and a joint obligation between the Commonwealth and Great Britain to transport the settlers, it was believed that the inflow of population would speedily reach 100,000 a year.

In pursuance of the announced intention of Premier Hughes to carry out the decisions of the Washington arms conference by reducing expenditures \$10,000,000, it was determined to scrap the battle cruiser Australia, to put six submarines out of commission, abolish the junior cadet system, reduce citizen training from eight to two years, cut down the four air squadrons to one and curtail the output of munitions plants to an absolute safety line.

With the coal crisis reported from Sydney on Oct. 9 as still unrelieved and the Southern mines closed, the owners declared that the mines would be closed indefinitely unless the miners withdrew their demands for Wednesday stoppages. The Northern mines still remained working.

EGYPT

Though an early decision on the abolishment of martial law is unlikely, the Egyptian Government is preparing a supplementary section of the Penal Code which will permit the authorities to deal properly with offenses adequately punishable only under martial law. * * * Convicted members of the Wafd (the Zaghlul delegation) were confined in the hospital ward of the ordinary prison, pending the preparation of a special place of detention. They were allowed to wear their own clothes, make their own arrangements for food, exercise for one hour twice daily, smoke and read any books they chose.

As an illustration that British and Egyptians can co-operate readily when made familiar with each other outside the cold atmosphere of British bureaucracy, 150 time-expired men of the Egyptian Army volunteered for service in the British Army, and were gladly accepted.

A reported decision of the Sudan Government to retain sole control of the Sennar Dam and the Gozireh canalization scheme, since it was bearing the expense of the construction of those works, was regarded as likely to complicate relations between Egypt and the Sudan, as the Egyptians had insisted on controlling the irrigation of the former province.

SOUTH AFRICA

Formal inauguration of the new Witwatersrand University, which incorporated the existing School of Mines and Technology, was performed by the Governor, as Chancellor, at Johannesburg on Oct. 5. After an inaugural address by Minister of Interior Duncan, an honorary degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred upon General Smuts.

An official visit was paid by Colonel Mentz, Minister of Defense, to the Lake Mentz conservation works on their completion on Oct. 9. These works, built along the lower reaches of the Sundays River, are the largest of their kind in South Africa, impounding 25,700,000,000 gallons of water, with a submerged area of 4,900 acres, and aim at permanent intensive cultivation of upward of 40,000 acres.

Sentence of death was passed by the Special Supreme Court at Johannesburg, Oct. 11, on two miners, Herbert Hall and David Lewis, as leaders in the disturbances of March, whereby Lieutenant Taylor was killed.

Little interest was manifested in South Africa on the Rhodesian referendum set for Oct. 27, by which the decision was to be made whether Rhodesia became a self-governing colony or a province of the Union of South Africa. The electorate, which included a comparatively large number of women and a few natives, numbered over 18,000. The feeling in South Africa was that Rhodesia seemed far off, and that its affairs would be better left to the discretion of its citizens.

IRAQ (MESOPOTAMIA)

Internal conditions of Iraq remained good in the month under review and quietness prevailed everywhere. * * * On the evacuation of Sulaimaniyah by the British officials, Sheik Quadir, the most prominent of the local Sheiks, was left in charge to carry on the Administration with the assistance of the divisional council. He was supported by Kurdish levies with arms and ammunition, and the funds in the Treasury were placed at his disposal. A further step in the direction of granting some sort of autonomy to Southern Kurdistan was indicated by the release of Sheik Mahmoud and his return to his home there. Before Sheik Mahmoud's revolt against the British, which resulted in his defeat, capture and exile to India, he was the principal Sheik and Governor of Sulaimaniyah, with British officers for his advisers.

INDIA

The September session of the Legislative Assembly was concluded with little business accomplished, other than what was practically a vote of censure by a small majority on ex-Premier Lloyd George's speech on the future of the Indian services, which, it was held, should be Indianized as soon as possible. Regarding the reform scheme, one member declared that the Central Government, practically British in character, should maintain imperial authority, with control over the army, the railroads, ports, telegraphs and customs, leaving to the Provincial Governments a free hand in managing their own affairs, giving them the status of a kind of United States of India. According to this view, a mistake had been made by the Central Government in yielding more of its power to popular clamor than Provincial Governments, thus divesting itself too largely of its essential British character.

The chief new feature of the Indian Army Reserve scheme, as officially announced, lies in the maintenance of the Reserve of the Army for India as a whole, and not for the Indian Army alone. Thus officers in the Reserve will be earmarked for British units for the Indian establishment. Critics feared the scheme revealed an intention to depend too much on the Reserve for mobilization of the Indian Army.

At a meeting at Karachi resolutions were passed impressing upon the Government the urgency of the immediate construction of the Sukkur barrage irrigation project on the Indus. This work, as planned, would rank as the greatest irrigation scheme in the world; it would cost £18,500,000, and be the means of producing yearly crops, largely cotton, estimated at from £15,000,000 to £20,000,000.

It was hoped that the linking up of Kabul with Peshawar by telegraph would afford enlightenment on world affairs to the Amir and his advisers, who, in their present condition of remoteness from all news, have leaned for advice on any stray Bolshevik agitator, and from Mohammedan success in the Near East had imbibed such an exaggerated view of the political status of Afghanistan that the Amir was considering claiming the Caliphate both by right of descent and as the most important independent Sunni Mohammedan ruler.

The present status of the Gandhi non-co-operative movement will be found treated in a special article published elsewhere in these pages.*

FRANCE

An increasing deficit of enormous proportions has given the budget proposals for 1923 a character of unprecedented seriousness. The report prepared for the Finance Commission of the Chamber of Deputies by M. Bokanowski, which was made public on Oct. 21, estimated expenditures at 23,180,000,000 francs and revenue at 19,285,000,000 francs, leaving a deficit of 3,895,000,000 francs. This deficit on what is called the ordinary budget is to be met by borrowing. In addition 10,500,000,000 francs has to be found for the extraordinary budget of expenses classified as "recoverable from Germany." M. Bokanowski pointed out that the actual value of France's share of reparations—26,000,000,000 gold marks—was 78,000,000,000 paper francs; but 55,000,000,000 francs had still to be raised for the devastated districts, and that amount, with the cost of pensions yet to be met, would increase the burden on France to 91,000,000,000 francs over and above what France had already spent on reparations and pensions.

M. de Lasteyrie, Minister of Finance, in the course of the budget debate in the Chamber on Oct. 26, declared that the ordinary budget would be balanced in two or three years by increased revenue from the present taxation and the return of the liberated regions into the taxpaying category. Recoverable expenses, "in which France had advanced 96,000,000,000 francs to

*See "India Turns Away from Gandhi," by Maurice Joachim, page 462 of this issue.

Germany," constituted a political, not a financial, problem. Among France's economies he mentioned the dismissal of 36,900 civil servants, and promised that the remainder of 50,000 would follow before the end of the year. Economies, however, would not lift the country from its present position. More receipts from taxation and from more thorough collection of existing taxes were required.

The 1923 budget carries an appropriation of about 4,600,000,000 francs for military expenditures. This provides for an army of 690,000 men and for the national gendarmerie, which costs about 600,000,000 francs. The naval estimates have been reduced to 1,043,000,000 francs.

It is estimated that the total amount of the loans that the French Government will float next year will be about 20,000,000,000 francs.

Decreasing confidence in foreign markets that Germany will ever pay France's reparations was one of the causes of the marked fall in the value of the franc. On the Paris Bourse on Nov. 8 the quotation for the pound sterling was 70 francs and 95 centimes, which constituted a new high record, and for the dollar, 16 francs, 6 centimes.

M. Louis Loucheur, former Minister of Liberated Regions, speaking in the Chamber on Nov. 7, urged that the Government should not only prepare full plans for a settlement of the reparations question, but also for a complete reconstruction of Europe. Prime Minister Poincaré, interrupting, said that it was with just such an object that the Government had asked Poland and other countries to prepare careful programs for consideration at the Brussels conference. Long speeches made by the Premier before both houses in the week ending Nov. 12, both on Reparations and France's Near East policy, were coldly received.

Reconstruction of roads, railways and canals is virtually completed; and the reconstruction of factory and industrial plants is well along toward completion; the clearing away of shells, barbed wire and other obstacles from the soil is also virtually done. On the other hand, it is stated, out of 564,000 houses wholly or partly destroyed by the German invasion, only 3,348 have been completely rebuilt; 180,417 have been "provisionally repaired" and 214,422 "definitely repaired." The plans for the collection and distribution of materials to rebuild the houses in the devastated regions are being gradually completed.

The French Communist Congress in Paris on Oct. 19 decided by 1,698 votes to 1,516, with 514 abstentions, to affiliate with the Moscow International. The Communist section of the Federation of Labor has appointed a committee to supervise the selection of workingmen's committees in all industrial establishments to take the place of the employers in the eventuality of a revolution. André Marty, one of the leaders in the French naval mutiny during the war, has been elected for the third time to the Paris Municipal Council as a Communist.

Lord Hardinge, it was announced on Oct. 31, had resigned his post as British Ambassador to France.

SYRIA

General Gouraud, the French High Commissioner in Syria, it was announced in Paris on Oct. 25, had tendered his resignation, and was to return to France in November. It was subsequently learned that General Gouraud had renewed a request made last August, to be recalled in order to become the successor of General Maistre as member of the Supreme War Council. The explanation that General Gouraud had resigned on the ground that the effectives of the French Syrian army had been reduced to proportions which the High Commissioner considered inadequate was not borne out. The Commissioner, however, had made no attempt to conceal his view that this inadequacy existed. When the Egyptian Expeditionary Force evacuated Syria at the end of January, 1920, the French garrison was raised to some 70,000 men, mostly Colonial troops. With this force General Gouraud overthrew the then Emir Feisal (now King of Iraq) in July, 1920. Later, economic necessity, combined with the general acceptance of French rule, led to a drastic reduction, till the French forces numbered only 20,000. Local levies now in training will be added next January. The French Chamber on Oct. 25 voted credits sufficient for present needs.

The future of Syria is problematical in view of the intention of the Nationalist Turkish Government to demand a plebiscite in all former Arab territories, including Syria. No evidence that France is considering the possibility of evacuation has come to hand. The French economic mission to Syria on its return to France on Oct. 23 painted a rosy picture of the prosperity of the French mandate territory, and laid stress on the French plans for development.

BELGIUM

The great social event of the month in Belgium was the visit of the Italian sovereigns, King Victor Emmanuel and Queen Helena, who arrived in Brussels on Oct. 11 to return the visit King Albert and Queen Elizabeth of the Belgians made to Italy a few months ago. The city gave the guests an enthusiastic welcome.

There were some Ministerial changes, consisting simply of replacement by persons of the same opinions and tendencies. M. Hubert, Minister of Science and Arts, resigned, and M. Leon Leclerc, former Rector of the University of Brussels, was named as his successor.

The Council of Ministers on Oct. 24 approved the law for military reforms. The duration of army service will be as follows: Auxiliary services, 8 months; infantry and heavy artillery, 10 months; technical corps, 12 months; cavalry and mounted artillery, 13 months. The army will not be divided into Flemish and Walloon regiments, but the linguistic régime will respect the rights of all soldiers. The project also deals with physical education and the advantages to be given to volunteers.

The fifth diplomatic conference on international

maritime rights opened at the Palace of the Academies at Brussels Oct. 19. M. Jasper, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, presided at the inaugural session. Twenty-two countries were represented, and there was a delegate from the League of Nations, and from the Commissions of the Rhine, the Oder, and the Elbe. In the opening address M. Jasper recalled the labors of preceding conferences held in 1905 and 1910. The conference resulted in the elaboration of the first two chapters of the international code of maritime rights and agreements in the matter of landings, and matters of assistance and maritime salvage.

NORWAY

United States Government action was still pending, Nov. 10, on the award of the permanent Hague Court of Arbitration in the case of the Norwegian ships requisitioned in the World War. The protest of the American arbitrator, Chandler P. Anderson, against the \$12,000,000 award to Norway, on Oct. 13, and the procedure by which the court arrived at the award, were considered something of a diplomatic incident. Norway had claimed \$13,000,000, plus interest, since August, 1917. The United States Government had recognized liability for about \$2,500,000. Mr. Anderson absented himself from the court's session of issuance, but had a protest read by the American agent, William C. Denis, to the effect that he, on behalf of his Government, reserved all rights resulting from a manifest infraction of the conditions on which the dispute was submitted to the tribunal, and from essential errors which would invalidate the award.

As all protests were barred by the convention of 1907, this protest was thought to create a very delicate situation. President Valloton stated that the tribunal could not agree with the American contention that it should be governed by American statutes whenever the United States claimed jurisdiction. Mr. Anderson declared that the special agreement of June 30 had imposed definite limits to the court's jurisdiction.

Contrary to the provisions of The Hague Convention of 1907, the arbitrators did not state reasons for each specific award made on the various claims; only reasons for the general award are given in the decision. The awards of each claimant are given in a flat sum, with interest at an unstated rate. It is also complained that the award is based on the speculative value the ship-building contracts have received since Aug. 3, 1917, in spite of what the court calls "the dubious action" of one Norwegian shipbuilder and one of his American agents. These builders, the American Consul said, speculated in ship contracts and created dummy corporations, even after the issuance of the requisition order, through which they sold and resold contracts, advancing prices perceptibly with each transaction, and indulging in other questionable tradings. Bankruptcy has overtaken some of these corporations in America since the war.

On Oct. 16 the United States Department of Commerce received from Assistant Trade Commissioner Sorensen at Copenhagen advices that

the Andersens and Bergens Kreditbank of Bergen and Christiania, Norway, was in serious difficulties from very heavy losses. This largest private banking concern in Norway had shaken the public confidence through the flooding of the market with the bank's shares. However, through joint investment of 50,000,000 kroner (par krone is 26.8 cents) by the Norwegian State, the Norges Bank and four private banks, reconstruction of the straitened institution was achieved and its position secured. The bank's capital had been 70,000,000 kroner, and its surplus 2,000,000 kroner.

A New York banking syndicate offered and sold out, on Oct. 16, an issue of Kingdom of Norway \$18,000,000 thirty-year 6 per cent. sinking fund external gold bonds, non-redeemable for ten years, at par and interest. The syndicate included the National City Company, J. P. Morgan & Co., the Guaranty Company, Harris, Forbes & Co., Dillon, Read & Co., Lee, Higginson & Co. and Halsey, Stuart & Co., Inc. It was announced that Norway would use the proceeds of this loan to repay a loan of \$5,000,000 Kingdom of Norway 6 per cent. bonds, due Feb. 1, 1923; to develop hydroelectric power, and to extend Government railroad, telegraph and telephone facilities.

Norwegian, Swedish and Danish delegates attended the Scandinavian Economic Conference at Christiania in the middle of October.

DENMARK

The Cabinet crisis ended the second week in October with the reconstruction of the Neergaard Ministry. M. Neergaard remained as Prime Minister and Minister of Finance; Foreign Minister Harold de Scavenius resigned and was replaced by M. C. Cold; Minister of Defense Klaus Berntsen was replaced by M. S. Brorsen, but Berntsen remained in the Cabinet without portfolio, and Minister of Commerce Tyge Rothe's portfolio was taken over temporarily by Minister of the Interior Kragh but later accepted by M. Jørgen Christiansen. M. Cold, formerly a naval officer, was for a time Governor of the Danish West Indies, and in 1908-21 was managing director of the United Shipping Company. M. Brorsen, Jutland farmer, is the leader of the Liberal Party. M. Christiansen, a merchant of Vejle, Jutland, is little known outside of his party and his home town.

The complex causes of this crisis are not fully explained, but dissension had arisen in the Government over the regulation on imports adopted last August to protect Danish industries, especially boots and tobacco, from the competition of low-exchange countries. To the protests against this policy from such countries as Germany and Czechoslovakia was added the hostile agitation of the free-trade wing of the Liberal Party. Premier Neergaard and Commerce Minister Rothe were expected to resign because their handling of the Landmandsbank affair had weakened their prestige. Neergaard, however, weathered the storm.

In the latter part of October, after three days' debate on the budget, the Socialist and radical

votes of censure were rejected and a Conservative vote of confidence passed. The Conservatives, whose prospects at the general election were not bright, decided to continue their "civic collaboration" with the Liberal Ministry in order jointly to combat the Socialist menace.

The bill for the reconstruction of the Landmandsbank, passed by the Rigsdag last month, received the necessary endorsement of the shareholders at their meeting in the Stock Exchange the second week of October. They agreed to the writing down of the bank's capital from 100,000,000 to 10,000,000 kroner. They remained owners of the bank. All the surplus remaining after the payment of 5 per cent. interest on the new preferred capital and after a certain annual amount of this new capital has been paid out will redound to the old shareholders' benefit. The shareholders showed admirable restraint in their attitude, though not a few reported themselves to be almost or altogether ruined by the bank's fantastic speculations.

The Rigsdag passed the law entitled "State Taxation on Real Estate," early in November on the last day of its session. Applying for the first time in Danish history the principle of single tax and taxation of unearned increments, this innovation is expected to cause far-reaching consequences.

Simultaneously with the foregoing, a so-called land assessment is to be levied on realty. For this the valuation of the land without buildings is estimated. A State tax of 1.5 per mill is levied on all property according to the land assessment. From the amount by which the property assessment exceeds the land assessment on certain real estate a deduction of 10,000 crowns is to be made and the owner is to pay property tax on the remainder at the rate of 1.10 per mill.

SWEDEN

Professor Gustav Cassel, Sweden's famous economist, announced in the Svenska Dagbladet, Oct. 17, his acceptance of the commission of adviser to the new Russian State Bank, in Moscow. This will necessitate his sojourning in Russia and suspending his courses next year in the Stockholm Institute, but without affecting his professorship. His purpose is to promote reconstruction work in Russia as an aid to European reconstruction. The new bank is to relieve the Soviet Government of all financial management and issuance of bank notes, and manage all banking accounts and problems on a purely banking basis.

The hard times in Europe have made the fish market in Sweden so poor as to drive Swedish fishermen to take advantage of the four-month season in American waters allowed each year by the Federal regulations to vessels of foreign registry.

From Nov. 5, Sweden prohibited radio operation on foreign ships in Swedish territorial waters within ten nautical miles of a coastal radio station. Exception is made only in case of great urgency or when the safety of a ship is concerned. Foreign ships in Swedish harbors are forbidden to receive radio messages without permission from the Telegraph Directorate.

SWITZERLAND

That the defeat of the Socialists in the recent elections for the National Council has settled the fate of the Socialist bill for a levy on capital, a referendum on which is set for Dec. 3, is inferred from the consequent November recovery of the Swiss stock market. In the middle of October the alarm over the bill was so general that the best Swiss stocks and bonds dropped from 10 to 15 per cent. and many bank depositors transferred their accounts to Sweden, Holland and other countries. Since the results of the elections became known, however, the prices have returned almost to their original level. As both the middle-class parties and many workmen who usually vote with the Socialists are opposed to the bill, rejection of the proposed capital tax by an overwhelming majority is confidently expected.

It is announced that the Swiss budget for 1923 will show a deficit of 83,000,000 francs, the receipts amounting to 425,000,000 francs, and the disbursements to 508,000,000 francs. The military expenses of the country have been reduced to 78,000,000 francs.

The subject of the reduction of armament was prominent in the National Council's debate, in October, on the relation between the Swiss National Assembly and the third assembly of the League of Nations. M. Motta of the First Chamber, explained that all the motions voted on by the League Assembly at Geneva conformed to the political guide line and the aspirations of the Swiss. Reduction of armament, he said, is one of the greatest problems that can be placed before humanity; and its solution would depend on the efforts of many generations. The mere existence of an organization that will no longer let this question disappear from international notice, however, is a fact of enormous importance.

SPAIN

A military demonstration was made on Oct. 22 by Spanish forces between Penon Velez and Punta Pescadores on the Moroccan coast with the object, it was officially stated, of impressing the insurgent tribesmen. A naval division, accompanied by two transports, carried troops from Melilla to Ceuta, and with an air force simulated a disembarkation and carried on a bombardment of the enemy that lasted for forty-five minutes. The operation was severely criticised by the Madrid press. * * * A further military advance toward the lost position of Annal was effected by three columns on Oct. 27. Naval and air forces participated.

General Arlegui, Chief of Police at Barcelona, has been relieved of his command, and the resignation of General Martinez Anido, the Civil Governor, has been accepted by the Government. The reason for this action was that the police authorities at Barcelona in their struggle with the Syndicalists had been taking the law into their own hands, and shooting men arrested on suspicion.

It was reported from Barcelona on Oct. 28 that the National Federation of Labor had issued a manifesto declaring that the reasons for an underground existence had disappeared and that the body would now be legally organized.

PORTUGAL

The Cabinet, headed by Premier Silva, resigned on Nov. 4 in consequence of criticism by the Opposition in the Chamber of Deputies of certain executive departments. A couple of days previously the Premier had announced that it would be necessary to resign, so that the Ministry could be reconstructed for the purpose of pursuing the economic rehabilitation of the country.

In the Chamber of Deputies on Oct. 23 the Government was violently attacked for having interfered with the liberty of the press by the temporary suspension of certain Opposition newspapers.

GERMANY

President Ebert's tenure of office was prolonged, on Oct. 24, by the Reichstag's adoption of the Constitutional amendment, declaring the Provisional President elected by the National Assembly to be the first legal President of the German Republic until June 30, 1925. The vote was 310 to 77. Handsome pension provisions were also passed for Herr Ebert and future Presidents of the Republic. The disturbed political and economic conditions of the country since Ebert's provisional election by the General National Assembly at Weimar, in 1919, had made elections inadvisable.

The Reichstag, on Oct. 24, took an adjournment until Nov. 7, without the expected statement from Chancellor Wirth on the political and economic situation. The Cabinet's difficulties had been increasing greatly for several days. In spite of the Socialist Party's opposition to an increase in the grain subsidy, the increased subsidy was passed on Oct. 24 by 263 votes to 160. As the Socialists voted against the Government, though their party is the principal factor in the Coalition, this action created great surprise. Discontent with the exchange order during the accelerated drop of the mark, disagreement as to the proper steps to get over the difficulties thus created, and disputes as to the proper measures to meet the danger threatened by the inflation climax, had made an atmosphere of tension, and the Socialists threatened to leave the Government.

In the midst of this, Chancellor Wirth startled political circles on Dec. 23, by submitting for discussion at a Cabinet Council the question of Germany's going into bankruptcy. Should not Germany, he asked, in view of the utter collapse of the mark, declare general reparation bankruptcy and default in payment in kind as well as in cash? This proposal created a great deal of talk on the foreign markets which was ridiculed in German financial circles. An outright declaration of bankruptcy by Germany, it was held, would have no advantage to offset the resulting international scandal.

The Allied Reparation Commission went to Berlin on Oct. 29 to discuss the financial and economic situation with the German authorities. The party, numbering over thirty, included two American observers, Roland W. Boyden and Colonel James A. Logan. A conference of foreign financial experts met in Berlin at the same time. The Reparation Commission found the German Government without any plans for solving the reparations problem. After preliminary discussions, Dr. Hermes, the German Minister of Finance and Economics, proposed a loan to Germany of 500,000,000 marks as a concrete basis of negotiation. As supplementary measures of relief, the German Government indicated as necessary a respite from gold reparations payments and reduction of deliveries in kind and coal. The Germans argued that it was necessary to save Germany to save the world from economic ruin. No concrete plans or promises were given in the first memorials presented by the German Government, which consisted mainly of academic discussions of the effects of currency depreciation on national budgets and internal administrative expenses, and the resultant increase in the floating debt. The subsequent German memorials were devoted to the questions of balancing budgets and problems of internal financial administration with special reference to the fluctuating civil service payrolls and the question of devising sources of increased tax revenues.

The foreign financial experts, including Gustav Cassell of Sweden; John R. Keynes of Great Britain; Professor Jeremiah Jenks of the United States, and other noted economists, studied the question of stabilizing the mark, and turned over their findings to the commission. They had not been able to agree among themselves on any one plan. Twice the commission impressed upon the German Government the necessity of making definite proposals for the stabilization of the mark, with reminders of the German engagements undertaken last July with regard to regulation of Germany's finances. Parliamentary and financial circles in Berlin saw nothing but confusion in the situation. The foreign experts envisaged in the proposed loan to Germany of 500,000,000 marks but a possible temporary relief.

On Nov. 10 the Reparation Commission returned to Paris empty-handed, except for a brief final note from Chancellor Wirth predicating a complete moratorium and supporting action by an international financial consortium for temporary and final solution of the reparations problem and for permanent stabilization of the mark. The foreign experts had made a majority and a minority report and recommendations, the latter being attached to the Chancellor's note as the basis of the German proposals. The experts' majority report judged stabilization of the mark possible, and mainly dependent on Germany's own efforts. The minority report (signed by Dr. Vissering, President of the Bank of the Netherlands, and M. Leopold Dubois of Switzerland), recommended the formation of an international banking syndicate with a total capital of 1,000,000,000 gold marks for stabilization purposes, Germany to enjoy a complete moratorium until

complete repayment of all advances. The Brussels conference will have the next say.

During the Reparation Conference the mark continued to fall, a process accelerated by the sudden rage for stock-buying, until it reached from 9,000 to nearly 10,000 to the dollar. Everybody with surplus marks was putting them on the market to realize cash, the German ban on the use of foreign money being partly lifted.

Business conditions continue remarkably good in contrast to the currency depression.

On Nov. 10, Hugo Stinnes's organ, the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, declared the stabilization plans thus far given out to be inadequate remedies for so sick an organism as the German economic body, which "cannot be cured through technical bank and financial devices." It insists that the treatment Germany most needs is enhanced production in all lines, as a natural corrective of the national currency ills and to make possible the balancing of the budget and restriction of the debt.

The Government's reparation program and its negotiations with the Reparation Commission were set as the subject for debate in the Reichstag Nov. 14. The fate of the Wirth Government was said to depend on the outcome of this parliamentary discussion, and on its ability to give satisfactory accounts of its procedure in connection with the recent negotiations. The sharpening line of cleavage between the Socialists and the three bourgeois parties is believed in political circles to foreshadow the disintegration of the present Coalition.

The monarchistic and militarist movement, centering in Bavaria, constituted the main political disturbance of the month in Germany. Organized resistance to the enforcement of the Versailles Treaty terms in Bavaria has been carried on in devious ways. The task of the Disarmament Commission in Bavaria has become increasingly difficult. On Oct. 27, a French officer and a British officer, members of the Disarmament Commission in Bavaria, were attacked by a hostile crowd at Passau, while attempting to inspect the barracks of the Second Reichswehr Regiment. The French officer, Commandant Bouychou, was wounded. On Nov. 10, the Allied Council of Ambassadors decided to send a sharp note to the German Government demanding an apology for this attack on two allied officers. A previous allied request for an apology, to be delivered not later than Nov. 6, was refused by the Bavarian Government. Now the Allies are determined to exact an expression of regret. General Nollet, head of the Allied Commission of Control in Germany, asked the Council of Ambassadors to take drastic action to the end that the work of the Control Commission should not be seriously handicapped.

The Bavarian Nationalists were making a solid front against enforcement of the treaty and against the democratic measures of the Berlin Government. The old espionage law has been expanded to include any information damaging to the Government. Local journalists have been silenced by the example made of one of them, Leo Praechting, who received a life sentence. Three other journalists received ten-year sentences. The Bavarian Premier, Count Lerchen-

feld, to a New York Herald correspondent complained bitterly of the difficulty of his position, as the Bavarians were "suffering from acute political hysteria."

Premier Lerchenfeld's resignation was accepted the first week in November by the President of the Bavarian Diet. His Government was criticised by the Right as too weak and submissive. It sought a leader who would stand on an "anti-Berlin" platform. The Coalition parties in the Government finally agreed on Dr. Eugen von Knilling, who had been Bavarian Minister of Education under the monarchy.

The new Bavarian Premier von Knilling made his debut in the Diet, Nov. 9, and sounded a more reactionary note than did his predecessor, Count Lerchenfeld. He said: "Let us, like England, make our creed the dictum: 'The Fatherland is always right.'" Von Knilling spoke for "a strong Bavaria in a strong Reich," and promised steadfast loyalty to the Reich Government "if it shapes its policy along the line of recognition of the collapse of the policy of fulfillment of the Versailles Treaty and fights against the lie of Germany's war guilt, against excessive financial burdens, and against the excesses of the enemy occupation troops in the Palatinate."

Dr. Wilhelm Kiesselbach, the German representative on the Mixed Claims Commission, formed to adjudicate the claims between the United States and Germany resulting from the World War, sailed for America Oct. 17. The commission's meetings began Nov. 1.

It was announced on Oct. 26 that the question whether the Kiel Canal will be open to the ships of the world, would be referred to the International Court of Justice, as decided by the Council of Ambassadors. Germany claims that free passage is not demanded by the Treaty of Versailles.

According to the American National Marine Association, Germany is fast restoring its merchant marine; she has now 2,000,000 tons, and is rapidly building new vessels. Decrease of American exports to Germany is indicated in the value of \$26,316,517 for August of this year, as against \$38,283,517 for August, 1921.

Voluntary disarmament of the Selbstschutz and kindred military organizations in German Upper Silesia was largely carried out Oct. 18, after the period allowed by the Government for such action had been repeatedly postponed.

Ex-Kaiser Wilhelm was married privately at his Doorn house, on Nov. 5, to Princess Hermine, with civil and religious ceremonies. Only twenty-eight guests were present, including the ex-Crown Prince and Prince Eitel Friedrich and other relatives.

AUSTRIA

The plan for the rehabilitation of Austria adopted by the League of Nations on Sept. 27, which includes a loan of 650,000,000 gold crowns (\$135,000,000), appears to be in a fair way of being carried out. Of the whole amount, 130,000,000 crowns is needed to cover the advances already made this year by various Governments. Italy guarantees 20 per cent. of the 520,000,000

balance, and Great Britain, France and Czechoslovakia guarantee 20 per cent. of the total, 650,000,000. The remaining 20 per cent., as well as the 20 per cent. left uncovered by the Italian guarantee, were left for Governments which might subsequently elect to join the scheme.

Control of disbursements is thus provided for. At the head is a Commissioner General, appointed by the Council, and alone dealing directly with the Austrian Government. The Committee of Control consists of one representative of each of the guarantor Governments, each representative having twenty votes. The decisions of the committee are taken by a majority.

The final scheme signed by Austria and the guarantor States included an undertaking by the latter to respect the political independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty of Austria, while Austria binds herself not to alienate her independence. This undertaking was intended to make impossible the union of Austria with Germany, hinted at by Dr. Seipel as one way out of Austria's difficulties.

The Pan-German Party, on Oct. 10, authorized its representatives in the National Council to vote for the Geneva protocols, which were presented to the Assembly on Oct. 12. Dr. Karl Renner, on behalf of the Social Democrats, attacked the plan, saying it meant twenty years of foreign control, and was a scheme of the Entente to gain commercial supremacy in the Balkans. Chancellor Seipel had the firm support of all non-Socialists.

The first step in carrying out the League of Nations plan was the passage by the Austrian Parliament, on Nov. 3, of a law authorizing the issue of bonds for 130,000,000 gold crowns, to cover budget deficits and stop the printing of paper money. The banks had agreed to take 30,000,000 crowns of the issue, and to sell an additional 20,000,000 crowns to the public, offering their aid to dispose of the remaining 80,000,000 crowns in foreign markets. The issue is to be secured by customs and tobacco receipts, and is to be retired next Spring, when a long term loan will be floated under the League of Nations plan.

Baron Stephan Burian von Rajecz, who was Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister for the first two years of the war, and again in 1918, when Count Czernin resigned, died of heart disease in Vienna on Oct. 20, aged 71.

JUGOSLAVIA

A Crown Council was called on Oct. 12 to make a definite decision in regard to Prince George of Serbia. The alternative of his expulsion or submission to the Government's terms was considered. Prince George, who is 35 years old, one year the senior of his brother, King Alexander, renounced his rights as Crown Prince of Serbia in 1909. For a number of years he spent an indolent life in Paris, but on the outbreak of the first Balkan war, applied for a command. This was refused, while his brother, Prince Alexander, was given command of an army. When Belgrade was attacked by the Austrians, Prince George headed a troop of Serbians and bravely defended the city. Later he was wounded at Tsea, was sent to France for con-

valescence and received promotion for bravery, which he declined. Prince George refused to be present at his brother's wedding in Belgrade last June to Princess Marie of Rumania, but reappeared when the King went on his honeymoon, and demanded of the cabinet a greater allowance than that of 600,000 dinars (about \$12,000), offered by his brother.

A congress of public workers, held at Zagreb in September, with the object of furthering peace between the Serbs and Croats by preventing the creation of separate provincial groups, had an influence in avoiding the danger threatening the Coalition Government in Belgrade. . . . The new session of Parliament was opened on Oct. 20, and the next day Dr. Lukinitch, a Croatian in favor of union and with distinct radical leanings, was elected President of the Skupstchina, succeeding M. Ribar, who is of the same party. This is believed to assure the Coalition Government a new lease of life and the retention of M. Pashitch as Premier until the elections take place next year.

A railroad from Belgrade to the Adriatic, to be built from the proceeds of the recent American loan, is expected to solve the bitterest post-war problem of Yugoslavia, and eliminate her controversy with Italy over Fiume. The road will bisect Montenegro's forests and mineral lands, and the region will become economically self-supporting. W. B. Poland, former chief engineer of the Alaska Central Railway, is in charge of the construction work.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The following new members of the Czechoslovak Cabinet have been reported:

Dr. HODZA (Agrarian)—Agriculture.
M. UDRZAL—Defense.
M. MALYPIER (Agrarian)—Interior.
Dr. KALLAY (Non-Partisan)—Plenipotentiary for Slovakia.
M. NOVAK (National Democrat)—Commerce.
Dr. DOLANSKY (People's Party)—Justice.
Dr. FRANKE (National Socialist)—Food Supply.
M. HABERMAN (Social Democrat)—Public Welfare.
M. SRBA (Social Democrat)—Public Works.
M. MARKOWIC (Social Democrat Slovak)—Unification.

Anthony Svehla, the new Premier, in announcing the future policy of his Government, said he would maintain the program marked out by Dr. Benès, the present Foreign Minister. Slovakia is to be divided into administrative districts, marking an important step toward unification of the Administration. Through alliance with Yugoslavia and Rumania in the Little Entente the peaceful development of the country is assured. Expenditure will be reduced and conformed to revenue. Partial free trade forms part of the tariff policy. The Land Office estimates that by the new year a large part of the great estates will be divided among the small landholders.

Dr. Rasín, the Finance Minister, is the man who

three years ago saved the Czechoslovak currency from the wreck of the Austrian crown by separating the two currencies and issuing newly printed State notes payable in Czechoslovak crowns for the Austrian bills withdrawn from circulation. Since then exchange has been steadily improving, with a progressive decrease in paper circulation, which in September, 1921, amounted to 11,138,974,000 crowns, and on Sept. 23 of this year had been reduced to 9,664,517,000 crowns. Negotiations have been begun with Yugoslavia to form some kind of currency union to facilitate trade.

Dr. Benès has concluded an agreement with Yugoslavia binding both States to take common action in all international questions affecting their interests. This is in pursuance of the understanding arrived at in the Prague conference last August, which included Rumania and Poland, as well as Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia.

Dr. Benès met Carlo Schanzer, the Italian Foreign Minister, at Venice on Oct. 10 to discuss the reappearance of the Turk in Europe. He believed this would lead Rumania and Yugoslavia to favor the formation of a Balkan federation, but added that Czechoslovakia was opposed to such a plan.

RUMANIA

King Ferdinand and Queen Marie of Rumania were crowned with elaborate ceremonies at Alba Julia on Oct. 15. Alba Julia is an ancient national shrine in that part of Hungary (Transylvania) given to Rumania by the peace settlement, and is the place where Michael the Brave, who is called the father of his country by all Rumanians, received the oath of allegiance from the Diet of Transylvania. Into the town of 6,000 inhabitants poured fully 200,000 persons, mostly peasants, in their picturesque costumes. The sovereigns were received by the Premier and other Ministers and driven to the cathedral, in front of which the coronation took place in the vast public square. The royal party returned to Bucharest in the evening, and the coronation procession, taking the form of a historic pageant, occurred the next day. The festivities closed on Oct. 17.

Eftimie Antonescu arrived in New York on Nov. 10 on his way to Washington to confer with the United States on the problem of the repayment of Rumania's war debt of \$38,000,000. On his way to this country he stated in Paris that



ANTONIN SVEHLA
The new Premier of
Czechoslovakia

Rumania would be unable to pay any of the interest or principal of her debt to the United States for four years, but that at the end of that time she intends to begin payment to the full extent of her ability.

HUNGARY

An international Free Trade Congress, under the auspices of the Cobden Club, was opened in Budapest on Oct. 17. Lord Sheffield, one of the British delegates, declared that the passions generated by the war prevented the interexchange of economic values. The congress passed a resolution in favor of free trade "as the sole means of reconstruction in Europe."

The Hungarian Home Office in October decreed that all foreigners living in Hungary shall report to the police and state their occupations. Those whose activities were found objectionable were to be expelled. M. Rakovsky, Minister of the Interior, declared that this was not an anti-Semitic measure, but, as most immigrants came from Galicia, naturally the majority of foreigners to be expelled would be Galician Jews.

Dissension in the ranks of the Christian Unity Party, which forms part of the Government bloc in the Hungarian Chamber of Deputies, over anti-Semitism threatens to split the party and weaken the position of Premier Stefan Bethlen.

Hungarian Fascists, organized on the Italian model, and numbering several thousand, are counting on the support of Count Andrássy, ex-Premier Stefan Friedrich and Deputy Stefan Haller. They are planning an extreme nationalist movement to direct the destinies of Hungary, regardless of the wishes of the National Assembly.

BULGARIA

Twelve former Premiers and Bulgarian Cabinet Ministers were held in jail in Sofia awaiting adoption or rejection of the referendum on their responsibility for Bulgaria's entry into the war. The Bulgarian Parliament on Oct. 9 passed a law providing for the trial of the Ministers considered guilty of treason in 1912, in regard to the Serbo-Bulgar treaty concerning Macedonia and in the great war. These measures mean that practically all the leading bourgeois politicians from 1913 to 1918 are under arrest, and that the opposition parties in the Sobranje Assembly are suppressed. Nine of the sixteen members of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences are among those arrested. The minority suggested that future sessions of the academy be held in the office of the governor of the prison. The President of the academy, former Premier Ivan Guechoff, was sought, but had evaded arrest.

Bulgaria is at present under a dictatorship of Communists and peasants firmly controlled by Premier Stambolisky. His peasant party holds about half the seats in Parliament, while the Communists divide the remaining hundred with their enemies, the bourgeois bloc. The Communists hold many high positions in the civil service, chiefly the Home Office and the police. Rus-

sian propaganda agents are pouring into Bulgaria, aided by a regular steamer service between Odessa and Varna. The policies of Stambolisky's peasant party are radical and revolutionary, making Bulgaria almost an open extension of Bolshevik power in Europe. The Bulgarian Minister of Foreign Affairs, however, on Sept. 18 telegraphed abroad a statement that Bulgaria has no engagements, verbally or by treaty, with either Angora or Moscow, and was in full agreement with the great powers concerning the freedom of the Straits. She relies, the statement said, on the Treaty of Neuilly to obtain an outlet to the Aegean Sea, upon which her economic existence depends.

The population of Nevrokop, in Southwestern Bulgaria, seceded in October, and proclaimed an autonomous republic, which was extinguished by the Government in three days. The citizens, who are opponents of Stambolisky's régime, seized the Prefect, the Sheriff and four other officials and hanged them after a summary trial.

The deadlock between the Interallied Commission and the Bulgarian Government over the reparations question has not yet been broken. The commission demands control over the customs, mines, State monopolies, the budget and taxation. Bulgaria asks the commission to waive these claims as involving an interference with its sovereignty. The commission is awaiting counter-proposals.

GREECE

Although the avowed purpose of the military revolution in Greece was to save Thrace, that Greek province had to be sacrificed at the Mudania conference, where the armistice between Turkey and the Allies was signed on Oct. 10. The Greek Revolutionary Committee in explaining the failure to save Thrace stated that the revolution came too late to accomplish that purpose. On the other hand the Greek Legitimists bitterly attacked the revolutionaries for their failure to save Thrace, stating that the revolution was meant simply to obtain power in the interests of Venizelism.

After the Mudania conference the Revolutionary Committee declared martial law throughout Greece on Oct. 11. On the same day Mr. Venizelos became the official delegate of Greece in the allied capitals, with full authority to do his best to save whatever was to be saved from the disaster.

The evacuation of Thrace began on Oct. 15; the Greek authorities transferred their offices to the allied commissions that took charge in the different localities. The Thracian question having been settled to the satisfaction of the Allies, the Greek Revolutionary Committee turned its attention to the internal problems, which are growing more ominous as time goes by. On Oct. 18 the Revolutionary Committee issued a manifesto to the effect that the revolution stands above political parties, its object being to unite the Greek people and to strengthen the ties binding Greece to the Allies.

On Oct. 22 a popular demonstration of 100,000 people took place in Athens to express the confidence of the people in the Revolutionary Committee. The people paraded before the allied legations and stopped before the legation of the United States to express the thanks of the Greek people for the generous assistance given by the people of America to the Greek refugees during and after the disasters of Smyrna and Thrace. Official thanks were expressed by the Revolutionary Committee to the American representatives at Athens on Nov. 4. On the same day the unrecognized Patriarch of Constantinople, Meletios, who was considered an enemy of the old régime, extended the good wishes of his Church to King George of Greece, who thanked him, and at the same time relations between the Greek State Church and the Constantinople Patriarchate were re-established.

In preparation for the next general election, General Ioannis Metaxas, former Chief of Staff, assumed leadership of the Anti-Venizelist Party and published his platform, stating that he would go before the people with a program attacking all the old political parties. Mr. Metaxas thus became a leader of the new party, whose slogan is Greek regeneration. The Venizelist Party, on the other hand, was divided into two branches, one of them being liberal but supporting the monarchical régime, whereas the other is frankly and openly for the republic.

On Oct. 26 Prince Andrew of Greece was arrested by the Revolutionary Committee on the charge that he was responsible for the recent disaster in Asia Minor. On Oct. 30 the Revolutionary Investigating Committee began the examination of the former Premiers, who are considered responsible for the disastrous issue of the recent war.

The Revolutionary Investigating Committee on Nov. 8 published its report regarding the responsibilities for the recent disaster. The report accuses all the Greek anti-Venizelist Governments, from 1915 to 1922, of alienating the sympathies of the Allies and also of neglecting on various occasions to comply with the demands of the Entente Powers. These Governments are also blamed for inviting King Constantine back in 1920, following the plebiscite; they are accused of not annexing the Dodecanese and North Epirus; they are also accused of having permitted an occult Government to exist in Greece under Prince Nicholas, a brother of King Constantine, in defiance of the Constitution. The report is in the nature of an indictment, and demands the sending of Messrs Gounaris, Stratos, Protopapadakis, Theotokis, Baltagis, Goudas and Stratigos before a special court-martial to be tried for treason to the country. The same accusation applies to General Hadjianestis, Commander-in-Chief of the Greek Army in Asia Minor at the time of the disaster.

The Greek Foreign Minister, Mr. Nicholas Politis, returned from his visit to Belgrade on Nov. 9. He stated that he had begun negotiations with Serbia and Rumania for the participation of Greece in the Little Entente. On the same date Mr. Alexander Zaimis declared his willingness to assume the Premiership, replacing



MOHAMMED VI.

Sultan of Turkey until the decision of the Grand National Assembly at Angora to establish a republic. He is the thirty-sixth in male descent of the House of Osman (or Othman), founded in 1299. He ascended the Turkish throne on July 3, 1918, after the death of his brother, Sultan Mohammed V.

Mr. Soterios Krokidas, Mr. Lambros Coromilas, former Minister of Greece to the United States, was reappointed Minister to Washington.

The next general elections in Greece will be held in the second week of December. The Greek colonies abroad will participate.

TURKEY

A new crisis has arisen in the Near East, following the signing of the Mudania Armistice on Oct. 11. Since the conclusion of that agreement, events of the greatest historical importance have followed one upon the other with bewildering swiftness. An occurrence of world-shaking significance was the abolition by the Turkish Nationalist Government of the Sultanate, and the ending of a dynasty dating back to 1299. At the same time the Angora Parliament assumed the right to continue the Caliphate, but to make it subject to its own control. Rafet Pasha, the Nationalist representative in Constantinople,

dramatically took possession of the Turkish capital, and demanded that the Allies evacuate at once. The Allies were also informed that the Straits would be closed to allied ships except under special permits. A succession of other demands showed the warlike and aggressive spirit of the victorious Turks. While the Sultan trembled in his palace, still refusing to recognize his deposition by Angora, and the Christian residents were terror stricken by this sudden turn of events, the Nationalist delegates left for Lausanne, where the whole status of the relations between the allied Governments and the new Turkey is to be settled. The whole situation was menacing in the extreme, and filled with omens of impending disaster.

The signing of the military convention at Mudania by representatives of Great Britain, France, Italy (subsequently Greece) and the Government of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey marked the culminating stage of the first crisis that arose in the Near East in consequence of the victory gained by the Turkish Nationalists over the Greeks and the beginning of the movement by the victors to gain control of European Turkey. This armistice defined the line beyond which the Greek troops in Eastern Thrace were to withdraw, formulated the measures necessary for the evacuation of those troops and of the Greek Civil Administration, and for the installation of the officials and gendarmerie of the new Turkish Government, and defined the methods by which control of Eastern Thrace should be exercised by the Allies during the period of transition so that law and order might be maintained. The Turks observed the armistice by withdrawing from the vicinity of Chanak and the Ismid area.

The evacuation of Eastern Thrace by the Greeks and the occupation of different areas by contingents of Allied troops in anticipation of the restoration of Turkish rule soon followed. A great exodus of Christian inhabitants began. It was estimated that 350,000 men, women and children slowly tramped over the congested roads. Their plight rendered the migration, observers declared, one of the saddest pilgrimages in history. Within a few days there was not a Greek nor Armenian left in the interior of Eastern Thrace. The refugee problem of Greece with the evacuation became acute. The Greek Minister of the Interior, Dr. Dokiades, on Nov. 11 stated that there were now 1,500,000 refugees from Thrace and Asia Minor in Greece, and that the burden of feeding and caring for them could not be coped with without outside assistance.

As the Allied High Commissioners prohibited the passage of Turkish gendarmes through Constantinople on their way to Thrace, the people of the city expended their patriotic fervor in the reception of Rafet Pasha, the Governor of Thrace appointed by the Angora Government. On his arrival in Constantinople on Oct. 19, he was acclaimed by enormous crowds. Rafet Pasha made it clear that there would be no excesses in Thrace, and that all sections would be well treated if they gave no provocation. Speaking

to the students of Constantinople University, he said that Turkey did not intend to imitate Western political systems. The Caliph, he declared, must be deprived of temporal power.

Invitations were issued on Oct. 26, to a conference at Lausanne, Switzerland, on Nov. 13, to bring about peace in the Near East. The conference was summoned by Great Britain, France and Italy, and the governments invited to the main conference were those of the United States, Greece, Rumania, Jugoslavia, Japan, and both the Sultan and the National Assembly. The Russian and Bulgarian Governments were also asked to send delegates to discuss the question of the Straits. In answer to the invitation to the United States, Secretary of State Hughes announced that the Washington Government would send observers, but not plenipotentiaries, to the conference.

A new and startling turn was given to the Near East problem on Nov. 1, when the Grand National Assembly at Angora abolished the Sultanate and took the election of the Caliph into its own hand.* As the Allies had invited the Sultan's Government, as well as the Angora Government, to send delegates to Lausanne, Mustapha Kemal declared that the Nationals would not take part in the conference if the Sultan were allowed to be represented. The Constantinople Government gave way on the point by deciding not to send a delegation to Lausanne. At the same time the Sultan refused to recognize the decision to abolish his office.

That the Turkish Nationalists were determined to secure the fullest control possible of what remains of Turkey in Europe was shown by their action in raising an army of 30,000 in Eastern Thrace in spite of the Allies' objections. Still more dramatic was the news reported on Nov. 5 that the Nationalists had seized Constantinople and ordered the allied troops to evacuate. Rafet Pasha made a dramatic announcement of what had happened when, at the conclusion of a discussion with the allied generals on the question of the admission of Turkish gendarmes to the Gallipoli and Chanak zones, he said: "I must inform your Excellencies that since noon the Constantinople Government no longer exists, and I have assumed the Governorship." The Allied High Commissioners accepted the new régime, and there was nothing left for the Sultan's ministry but to resign. Tewfik Pasha, the Grand Vizier, dispatched messages to the representatives of the Sublime Porte in the various capitals to transfer their archives to the representatives of the Angora Government.

A wild night of jubilation was indulged in by the Turkish residents of Constantinople to celebrate the Nationalist coup. The Christian population was terror stricken as vast throngs of Turks marched through the streets, smashing windows, firing pistols loaded with blank cartridges, shouting for Mustapha Kemal and singing patriotic songs. In view of many threats

*For the text of the resolution abolishing the Sultanate and the subsequent statement of its effect, see addendum to Clair Price's article, "The New Turkey," on pages 460-461 of this number.



FERID BEY

Representative of the Turkish Government in Paris

against the Sultan by the radical elements, the Sultan's palace was heavily guarded. The fear that serious disorders would arise and endanger the lives of the Christians caused the allied Governments to authorize their High Commissioners to take all necessary measures, even to the extent of proclaiming martial law.

The situation became steadily tenser as the Nationalists put forth increasing demands of sovereignty. Among these demands were that the Allies should cease to control the police, customs, railroads and censorship over the Turkish press, and that the mixed courts before which foreigners were tried should be abolished. Most drastic and unexpected was the insistence that the allied troops should evacuate Constantinople immediately, and further that only one allied ship at a time be allowed to enter Turkish ports in the Straits, and only with the consent of the Turkish Nationalist authorities. Other demands were that the customs duties on goods entering European Turkey be raised to the same level as in Asiatic Turkey. Regarding the Turkish Nationalist debt, which is largely held by foreign bondholders, the

Director General of Customs ordered the cessation of the payment of 3 per cent. of the customs receipts to the Ottoman Bank for the account of the Financial Commission, and the diversion of the money to some bank not yet specified for the benefit of the Angora Government.

The Allied High Commissioners, acting unanimously, refused to evacuate the Turkish capital. As for the other Nationalist demands, they informed the Turks that they would have to consult their respective Governments. Lord Curzon and M. Poincaré sent a joint note to the British and French High Commissioners approving their refusal to evacuate the capital. On Nov. 9 the High Commissioners, in a note to the Angora Government, demanded the immediate revocation of the Kemalist orders taking over the customs and local administrations, on the ground that these orders were contrary to the terms of the Mudros armistice agreement of 1918, plainly intimating that refusal would lead to the proclamation of martial law.

The date for the opening of the Lausanne peace conference, set for Nov. 13, approached. A heavy cloud of uncertainty weighed over the whole Near East situation. Ismet Pasha, the Angora Foreign Minister, left for Lausanne on Nov. 9. He was accompanied by Riza Nur Bey and a suite of military, financial and economic experts. Other Turkish officials and experts followed a day or two later. The Grand National Assembly had instructed Ismet Pasha to obtain realization of the following sweeping program:

First, the frontiers of Turkey to be in accordance with the national pact; second, Greece to pay an indemnity; third, suppression of the capitulations, or extraterritorial rights for foreigners; fourth, modification of the frontiers of Iraq (Mesopotamia), and, fifth, complete independence for Turkey, financial, economic and political.

The date for the opening of the Lausanne Conference was postponed to Nov. 20, inasmuch as the British and French Governments had not been able to agree upon a joint plan of action. It was decided to hold a meeting of British, Italian and French leaders in Paris, to determine on such a plan before the opening of the conference. The French press bitterly denounced the French pro-Turkish policy as the Nationalist demands became more imperious and far-reaching.

The situation in Constantinople, on the eve of the conference was alarming. The Sultan remained in close seclusion in his palace, obstinately refusing to abdicate, but momentarily expecting his removal by the Nationalists, while the members of his household sent up fervid prayers for his safety. Mark O. Prentiss, special representative of the American Near East Relief, on his arrival in Paris on Nov. 11, declared that Constantinople was fated to become another Smyrna. The Turks, he asserted, had a list of 8,000 Greeks and Armenians in Constantinople, with photographs and date showing outrages committed, and all on this list were marked for slaughter as soon as the Allies were out. (Similar large-scale slaughters in Smyrna, carried out deliberately, and on the same ground, were reported by him). Three-quarters of a million Christian people must

be evacuated at once, he warned, to avoid impending disaster.

FINLAND

The bill establishing the Presidential election by 300 electors chosen by the general suffrage was passed by the Diet Oct. 20. This act merely confirms the original constitutional provision. President Staalberg's election by the Diet had been exceptional to meet the emergency of an unsettled time in the country, and there had been much controversy as to whether the constitutional indirect-election law should take effect at the end of President Staalberg's six-year term, in 1925.

The agrarian law was passed Oct. 14, limiting the area of private estates to something like 300 hectares. All the excess areas of the large estates are to be subdivided into small farms for sale at a specified, reasonable rate to persons without land. At the same time the Diet provided for Governmental care of the foreign-owned estates left by Russian and other proprietors during the war of independence. Instead of selling these estates for back taxes, the Government is to take care of them for five years, but will appropriate those whose owners do not appear by that time and pay the tax arrears, plus the care-taking expenses.

In October the reciprocal agreement between Finland and Soviet Russia for the return of each other's ships interned since the war of Finnish independence was carried out, according to the Dorpat Treaty terms.

Finland continues to show a favorable trade balance, also a gradual gain in exchange-strength. In the last six weeks the Finnish mark (par 19.3 cents), climbed from 2.15 to 2.80 cents. The imports for August are valued at 399,800,000 Finnish marks, and the exports 600,300,000 Finnish marks, the excess being thus 200,500,000 marks. In September the exports exceeded the imports by 150,000,000 marks. During 1922 to Oct. 16, the exports amounted to 546,000,000 marks. From the period January-August, 1922, the imports amounted to 2,412,100,000 marks, exports to 2,808,000,000 marks, surplus exports to 359,900,000 marks.

The disarmament conference between Finland and the other Baltic States and Russia, which had been summoned to meet at Moscow at the end of October, was postponed until some time in November, as the Soviets found the time unsuitable, in view of the Near East situation.

POLAND

The Polish general election for the Lower House of the Diet was held on Nov. 5. Though returns were slow in coming in, it was clearly indicated that the Left or radical parties triumphed over the Nationalists, carrying 40 per cent. of the seats in the Diet. This means that the radical groups—Socialists, peasants and non-Poles—will control this branch of the Diet.

The elections for the Senate, on which depended

the result of the contest for the Presidency, took place a week later, Nov. 12. The returns had not been published up to the time when these pages went to press.

Poland's attitude toward the Turkish question, specifically to the Dardanelles, was indicated by M. Narutowicz, the Foreign Minister, on Oct. 20, in an interview granted to representatives of the Polish press. Poland, he said, demanded the freedom of the Straits, inasmuch as free entry to the ports of Galatz and Braila had been obtained by economic treaties concluded with Rumania.

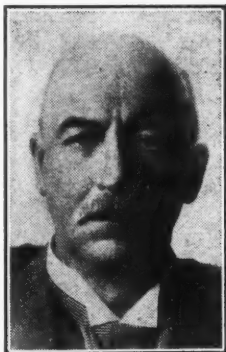
M. Obolenski, who represented the Soviets at Warsaw, was recently recalled to Moscow. Amelioration of Russo-Polish relations, he declared, awaited the arrival of the Polish Minister of Commerce for the negotiation of a trade treaty. Poland attested its peaceful intentions toward Russia by offering to participate in the proposed Russo-Baltic disarmament conference, which the Soviets had postponed pending Near Eastern developments. The Soviet complained of diplomatic slights.

The mixed commission charged with tracing the Polish-Ukrainian frontier had finished its work by Oct. 20, fixing the last line in Volhynia between Stontsch and Klinkief, a distance of sixty-three kilometers; the delimited frontier being thus made 332 kilometers long.

The Polish Government's invitation to Danzig to send delegates to participate in the Warsaw pourparlers on a Polish-Japanese treaty was declined.

The Polish delegate to the League of Nations on Oct. 17 addressed a note to the Council protesting against bad treatment of Polish citizens remaining in Lithuania. The Vilna plebiscite planned by the Council of the League of Nations was abandoned in the middle of October, owing to adverse circumstances, the League deciding to reimburse the three Scandinavian countries for the expenses of their military preparations for keeping order during the voting. Poland refused to comply with the Scandinavian demand that Poland share with Lithuania the expense of sending troops.

The Diet of the Palatinate of Upper Silesia opened Oct. 11 with a great gathering of political personages from all Poland. The Warsaw Government was represented by the President of the Council and many members of his Cabinet. The first speech was made by Dr. Nowak, who greeted the Diet of Upper Silesia in the name of the State, assuring the people of Upper Silesia that they could count on the utmost good-will and strict impartiality of the central authorities. The



GABRYEL
NARUTOWICZ
Foreign Minister in
the Polish Cabinet

second session, Oct. 16, was devoted to election of the President and to the vote on the rules of procedure, presented in Polish. M. Wolny was elected Marshal of the Diet by forty-three votes. There were five abstentions. Vice Presidents were elected for the German representatives, the Polish National Bloc, the Labor Party, and the Polish Socialists.

According to Charles Philips, Director of the Child Hygiene Department of the American Red Cross in Poland, the reconstructive development of the Polish Republic is one of the most striking facts in Europe today, and notably the rehabilitation of Polish farmlands. Over 5,000,000 acres of land devastated by the wars have been replanted, in spite of lack of farm machinery. Germany makes her resentment of Polish independence felt in trade relations. Industries are steadily reopening, and the people work hopefully.

ESTHONIA

The Labor Party's recall of its representatives in the Cabinet, Foreign Minister A. Piip and Social Minister Ch. Kaarna, was accounted for in the party's organ, Vaba Maa, Oct. 18, on the ground of the party's displeasure at the Government's neglect to make clear to the public and the Diet the administrative attitude toward certain important political questions. The party could not determine how far the Foreign Ministry, as managed by the Labor Party member, Piip, acted on its own will or in understanding with the Government and the President. The party was dissatisfied with the Government's agrarian reform policy; it did not regard the course of the War Department as sufficiently democratic, and it had not succeeded in reaching an agreement with the Government on the question of religious instruction in the intermediate schools. Finding itself unable to co-operate with the present Government along any of these lines, the Labor Party decided to order the resignations of its Ministers.

An attempt to plunder the State's military stores at Moniko, one kilometer from Reval, was reported in the Finnish press on Oct. 19. The bandits, believed to be Russian terrorists, fled after an exchange of shots.

LATVIA

Completion of the elections for the first Latvian Parliament was announced Oct. 23. The hundred deputies composing the Parliament are divided among twenty distinct political parties. The Social Democrats won 30 seats, the Farmers' Union 17, the Germans 6, the Jews 6, and the Russians 3.

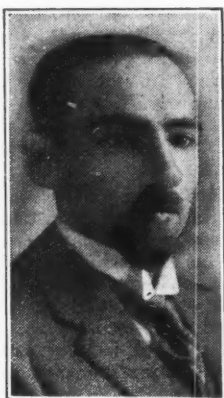
LITHUANIA

The Lithuanian Government's refusal to aid the League of Nations commission to find a solution of the Lithuanian-Polish boundary dispute caused unpleasantness at Geneva headquarters, whither

the commission returned in October. Lithuania took the position that the League representatives were unable to offer satisfactory assurances of their impartiality, and the commission therefore limited its tour to the neutral zone.

On or before Jan. 1, 1933, all currency that has been circulating in Lithuania (ost marks, ost rubles, and German marks) must be changed into the State's new monetary unit, called the "lit." From Oct. 1, the first day of issuance of the new paper lits, according to the law passed Aug. 9 by the Constituent Assembly establishing a new monetary system, all transactions in Lithuania are to be calculated under the new currency. The par value of the lit equals one-tenth of an American dollar, and the lit is divided into 100 cents.

Lithuania's election for the Constituent Assembly began Oct. 11.



VALDEMARAS CARNECKIS

Chargé d'Affaires of the Lithuanian Legation which has recently been opened at Washington

RUSSIA

Soviet Russia celebrated the fifth anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution of Nov. 7, 1917, and did honor to the Congress of the Third International in "imperial Petrograd" on Nov. 5, and in Moscow on Nov. 8. In the Petrograd celebration, amid a blaze of red flags and decorations, the Red Army reorganized by Trotzky marched to the cheers and songs of an enthusiastic throng. In the great People's Hall, Zinoviev, in burning words, predicted the ultimate triumph of the Russian revolution. Clara Zetkin, the German Socialist, and Italian, Japanese and other delegates spoke in similar vein. As check and counterbalance to this had come the warning words of Trotzky before the Young Communist Congress in Moscow: "The triumph of the Russian revolution is far, far across the mountains. * * * The road before you is long and difficult. * * * The struggle is deep and bitter." On the new Soviet policy compromising with capitalism, Zinoviev said "The Russian delegates to the Congress will show you it is an unavoidable stage in revolutionary progress." One of the most brilliant features of the celebration was a review of the Petrograd garrison in the square of the Winter Palace. General Budenny, the famous cavalry leader, took the salute as the Red Army marched by with clock-like precision. Some 45,000 soldiers participated: infantry, motor service, aviation, cavalry and engineers.

The central point of the Moscow celebration was the Red Square facing the Kremlin walls.

The whole city, and notably the Square, was ablaze with crimson flags, including huge red banners bearing inscriptions in many languages welcoming the foreign delegates to the Congress of the International. Leo Trotzky, the War Commissar, dressed in a military uniform, opened the review and addressed the crowds from a rostrum in the shadow of the Kremlin. Nearby were the graves of the dead Communist leaders, including that of John Reed, the American Socialist. Trotzky declared that Russia had a big army and a good army, but that she was ready to disarm if other nations disarmed. A review of 20,000 men then occurred, including the Communist Youths, in civilian dress, but armed. Some 1,000 sailors and naval cadets were in the procession. The impression produced on foreign observers by both the Petrograd and Moscow celebrations was profound and dynamic, as a striking evidence of Russia's strength and vital spirit after five years of the Soviet régime.

The political situation underwent small change in the month under review. Soviet Russia, as the ally of Turkey, continued to insist on admission to the Lausanne peace conference on even terms with the allied nations and Turkey, and late in October sent a note to the British Government complaining of the British failure to answer various notes upon this subject, represented as of vital importance to Russia in connection with the "freedom of the Straits." The tension caused by the British desire to exclude Russia was mainly responsible for the failure of the Urquhart commercial agreement. An aftermath of this was the virtual resignation of Leonid Krassin, the negotiator of this agreement, as Russian Soviet Minister of Trade and Commerce. Officially it was stated that he had been given three months leave of absence. In an interview given at the end of October, Lenin made it plain that Russia would continue to insist on admission to the main peace conference, but intimated that negotiations with the Urquhart syndicate might be renewed if the British attitude was modified.

A curious development of the past weeks has been the growth of more cordial feelings between Soviet Russia and France. Arrangements had been concluded between Moscow and France by the middle of October providing for the admission of a Russian Red Cross mission to France to supervise the repatriation from France of former Russian soldiers. The French economic commission to Moscow, headed by Edouard Herriot, Mayor of Lyons and leader of the important Radical Socialist Party in the French Chamber, returned to Paris on Oct. 16 and was given an enthusiastic reception by French officialdom and the press. The semi-official Temps openly discussed the possibility of a rapprochement. M. Herriot declared that the moment was favorable to resume relations. Russia's claims regarding the Straits must be considered, he said, and Russia must be helped in reconstruction, and given an opportunity to pay her debt. The Russians, he declared, would pay the French debt if they were aided.

The prospect for the coming year, due to the famine, was gloomy in the extreme. It was

stated in October that 5,000,000 people would face starvation from December to the next harvest. Colonel William Haskell, director of American relief work in Russia, stated on Oct. 25 that America had agreed to feed 1,000,000 children this coming Winter. He complained of the delay of Soviet Russia in taking measures of assistance. Leo Kamenev, acting Premier in Lenin's absence, stated on Oct. 21 that 8,000,000 people would require assistance. The official *Isvestia* at the end of October published alarming reports of the famine conditions prevailing in the South.

A new Church trial was opened by the Moscow Revolutionary Tribunal on Oct. 16, with 116 accused persons at the bar; these included the Dean of the Cathedral of our Saviour in Moscow, Arseniev, and many well known professors and scientists. All were charged with having circulated the appeal issued by ex-Patriarch Tikhon protesting against the requisitions of Church treasure. The trial of Tikhon himself was scheduled for November. Archbishop Antonin's "Resurrection Church"—itself an offshoot from the "Living Church," which supplanted the Orthodox Church, was split by a new organization founded by the left wing of the Living Church on Oct. 11, headed by M. Novakoff, Administrator of the Supreme Church Council. The proposals of M. Novakov were drastic, including a reversion to the early Christian cults, and the banishment of "heathen prayers."

It was officially announced on October 11 that the Criminal Code had been amended, providing penalties for "grafters" ranging from one year's imprisonment to the infliction of the death penalty. On Nov. 5 this code was ruthlessly applied, with the conviction to death of eleven directors and department chiefs of the Govern-

ment textile combination, on charges of defrauding the State and causing a loss of more than \$1,000,000.

A decree was published on Oct. 12, authorizing the State Bank to issue gold certificates backed by no less than a quarter of the total amount issued. The gold standard security for an issue of 500,000,000 rubles, or \$250,000,000, it was understood, would be available. The country's paper circulation was stated by Finance Commissioner Sokolnikov on Oct. 28, to total the vast sum of 1,182 trillion rubles.

CAUCASUS

A concentration of the Soviet Army in the Caucasus was reported on Oct. 28. The motive was stated to be the revolutionary activity in Georgia, which has continued since last August. The strength of the revolutionary movement, far from being broken by Soviet repressions, was increasing toward the beginning of October, according to advices published in *The London Times* on Oct. 26, and was causing the Soviet authorities considerable alarm. No information had been received regarding the promises of M. Narimanov, who has been President of the Soviet Caucasus Federation since August, to the Angora Government, to conduct an inquiry into the assassination of Djemal Pasha. Large numbers of the Dashnakist (extreme radical) Armenians suspected of connivance in the murder were arrested soon after the assassination of this former Turkish governmental officer.

JAPAN

The Diplomatic Advisory Council, which was organized by the Terauchi Ministry in June, 1917,



(Underwood & Underwood)

A street scene in Moscow indicating the appearance of the inhabitants and the revival of retail trade under the new economic policy of the Soviet Government. The store shown is for the sale of books and magazines

to secure unity among all parties on questions of foreign policy, has been abolished.

The inauguration meeting of the Japanese Federation of All Labor Unions, held at Osaka, was attended by ninety-six delegates from sixty-two unions, and 200 delegates from Socialist organizations. Differences of opinion led to riotous scenes, necessitating police intervention, before the meeting concluded its work.

By a decision of the Appellate Court of the District of Osaka, Geisha girls have been set free from the obligations contracted for them by their parents or guardians. Such contracts, the Court held, savored of slavery, and should not be enforceable. This judgment compares with the Dred Scott decision in the United States which helped largely in the abolition of negro slaves.

CHINA

The Chinese Parliament, which has split into about twenty factions, was reopened at Peking on Oct. 11. Practically no business was transacted owing to the turbulent and unruly behavior of members who insulted both the President and the Prime Minister, and no progress was made in the direction of enacting a scheme of financial reorganization. There was evidence of a movement to replace members of the Cabinet favorable to Wu Pei-fu by men supporting Tsao-kun and some tuchuns (military governors). The aim of the militarists in trying to secure control of the Cabinet was to prevent any action that would bring about disbandment, reduction of military expenses, or the readjustment of provincial control.

Almost simultaneously with the reopening of Parliament, one of the most remarkable popular demonstrations in Chinese political history took place in Peking, for the purpose of demanding that the Government bring about demilitarization. President Li Yuan-hung stood on a platform and allowed himself to be heckled by agitators in the enormous crowd. He told his questioners that Parliament was the proper medium through which to secure action. It was hoped by the organizers of the demonstration that it would give the people of the provinces a lead, and force the tuchuns to disband their armed forces.

The chief issue in Chinese politics—the alternative between unification involving the creation of a strong centralized government on the one hand, and a federal system leaving the provinces virtually autonomous on the other—entered upon a new phase when Wu Pei-fu, the military dictator upon whose forces the Government depends for its authority, came out with an emphatic declaration against any form of federalism.

The most recent serious movement against the Government was that reported from the province of Fukien, where on Oct. 12 the remnant of the army of Sun Yat-sen, under the leadership of General Hsu Tsung-chi, captured Foochow, the provincial capital, and there proclaimed a revolutionary government. British, Japanese and American naval guards were immediately landed to maintain order. At the same time General

Chen Chiung-ming, acting on behalf of the Peking authorities, ordered troops to proceed from the province of Kwangtung to check the advance southward of the insurgent forces.

Following the withdrawal of all allied troops from Siberia, the United States Government has relinquished its share in the control of the Chinese Eastern Railway, which had been taken over in 1918 by agreement with Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan, for the purpose of sending troops to Siberia. The formal notice of this act was conveyed in a note from Secretary of State Hughes, which Minister Schurman presented to the Chinese Government on Oct. 31.

Ernest Colville Collins Wilton, a member of the British diplomatic corps, has been appointed Financial Adviser to the Chinese Government for a term of three years.

Adolph Joffe, one of the principal negotiators of the Brest-Litovsk treaty, has arrived in Peking as Ambassador of the Russian Soviet Government to China. It was stated that his object is to restore commercial relations between China and Russia and to settle the Mongolian question.

The number of American firms and persons doing business in China has, according to the Department of Commerce, shown a marked increase. From 1914 to 1921 the number of firms has grown from 136 to 412 and the number of persons from 4,365 to 8,230. Another important development for the benefit of American trade has been the establishment of a body styled the Associated Chambers of Commerce of China.

SANTO DOMINGO

Juan Bautista Vicini Burgos took the oath of office as Provisional President of Santo Domingo on Oct. 21, ending the régime of American occupation. His Cabinet was announced as follows:

ANGEL MORALES—Foreign Affairs.
JOSE DEL CARMEN ARIZA—Interior and Police.
C. ARMANDO RODRIGUEZ—Justice and Instruction.
OCTAVIO ACEVEDO—Public Works.
PEDRO A. PEREZ—Agriculture.
MANUEL MARIA SANABIA—Health.

President Harding cabled his congratulations to the new Government. The executive departments were turned over to the new Cabinet, and the National Palace was handed over to the Provisional Government the next day. Admiral Samuel S. Robinson, American Military Governor, sailed with his staff on Oct. 24. General Harry Lee assumed command of the American military forces, numbering about fifteen hundred marines, who will remain until a constitutional Government succeeds the present provisional administration.

A Government decree embodying the terms of a proposed treaty with the United States and approving the orders, resolutions, administrative rulings and contracts made by the American authorities, was issued on Oct. 27, to remain in effect until the United States Congress passes on the treaty.

HAITI

The National City Company on Oct. 9 offered in New York \$16,000,000 thirty-year 6 per cent. bonds of the Republic of Haiti at 96½, and the entire issue was taken the next day. This is the loan against which Haitians protested, and of which Senator Borah declared that probably not one-fifth would go to the development of Haiti and even this fraction would go to defray the cost of surveying to validate title to lands acquired by American companies. The American title to these lands, it was stated, was made possible only by a plebiscite after the Haitian Legislature had been dissolved for refusing to vote a constitution sanctioning alien ownership.

The Haiti-Santo Domingo Independence Society printed a warning that the loan was based on military invasion on the overthrow of the Haitian Government, the imposition of a treaty through what Admiral Caperton called "military pressure," dissolution of the legislature, imposition of a new constitution, and the election of a dummy President last April, and that the loan automatically extends American occupation for at least thirty years. The warning stated that the loan was illegal, based on force and fraud, and would be repudiated by the Haitian people at the first opportunity.

John A. McIlhenny, until lately Financial Adviser of Haiti, in a letter to the National City Company, said that the collection and allocation of Haiti's revenues by a protocol had been extended, even after the expiration of the treaty. The proceeds would be used to refund two Haitian loans now outstanding in France and to pay floating debts. Haiti, the adviser said, proposes to issue \$5,000,000 series B bonds of this loan, payable only in Haiti, to refund the present internal funded debt. Mr. McIlhenny resigned as Financial Adviser on Oct. 21, and President Harding named John Stryker Hord, who has been for many years employed in Porto Rico and the Philippines drafting internal revenue legislation. Payment of the French bonds at present rates of exchange, it was said, would result in a saving of at least 60 per cent. of the amount if the franc were to return to its par value. Mr. Hord arrived in Haiti on Nov. 1.

Vital statistics for the first half of 1922 in Haiti show a ratio of three births to each death. Gradual adoption of American sanitary methods, improved agricultural yield and the cessation of revolutions are said to be responsible for the increase. The population in 1791, when Haiti separated from France, was about 500,000; today it is estimated at 2,500,000.

CUBA

Elections were held throughout Cuba on Nov. 1 for fifty-seven national Representatives, Governors of the six provinces, Mayors and Provincial Councils, resulting in a Liberal landslide. Seven parties had candidates: The Liberal, Popular, Conservative, Socialist, Good Government, Nationalist and Republican Parties. The last four are new organizations. President Zayas was elected

by a combination of the Popular and Conservative Parties, but this year these parties united on only two important candidates, Benito Laguerruela for Mayor of Havana, and Eulogio Sardinias for Governor of Havana Province. Both were defeated, and the Liberals increased their strength in the House of Representatives so largely that it was thought the Administration might lose its majority.

Major Gen. Crowder arrived in Washington on Oct. 13 to report on conditions in Cuba, and Dr. Carlos de Cespedes, still technically Minister to the United States, although Secretary of State in President Zayas's reorganized Cabinet, arrived on Oct. 15. Dr. Cespedes said that the greater part of the reforms needed to improve political and financial conditions had been put into execution. Both he and General Crowder favored the proposed \$50,000,000 loan authorized by the Cuban Congress. Formal request for approval of the loan, as required by the Platt amendment to the treaty with Cuba, was made of the State Department on Oct. 18. The request was granted on Nov. 2, and details will be perfected in Havana in consultation with American bankers, including W. P. C. Harding, former Governor of the Federal Reserve Board, who left for Cuba on Nov. 1. General Crowder had preceded him, reaching Havana on Oct. 24. Proceeds of the loan will be used to repay the short term loan of \$5,000,000 made by J. P. Morgan & Co. last January, to meet outstanding obligations and budgetary needs and to complete or begin important public works.

A distinctly optimistic tone is given to the Cuban economic situation by the prospect of another large sugar crop. Revenues continue to exceed the budget estimates, bank clearings are increasing and building activity continues.

MEXICO

General Francisco Murguia, the last important rebel opponent of President Obregon, was betrayed by an Indian girl and captured on the night of Oct. 31, in the small town of Tepehuantes, in the State of Durango. A court-martial was held at 2 o'clock the next morning, and he was sentenced to death. His request for a stay of execution was refused, and he was shot at 9 o'clock in the morning.

General Murguia was the most active of all President Obregon's foes. For months he had conducted an energetic campaign from Texas, although under bonds to keep the peace. Following his entry into Mexico, his bondsmen were asked to forfeit their money. He crossed the Rio Grande late in August with a few score followers, gathered about 200 more in the Sierra de Burrow Mountains, and made an attempt to cross the Majada Desert into the State of Durango, where he expected to join Juan Carrasco, another rebel leader from Sinaloa. General Murguia was Carranza's right hand man, following his fortunes from his first manifesto, declining to recognize Victoriano Huerta as President, till the moment of Carranza's death after the flight from Mexico City. Murguia's followers gradually fell away

after repeated defeats, in which his second in command, General Eduardo Hernandez, and Colonel Leopoldo Salinas were killed and General Alberto Salinas captured. The latter was Carranza's nephew and chief of aviation and was a graduate of the Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute at Troy, N. Y. He was sentenced to seven years' imprisonment, and two of his Colonels were put to death.

News percolated that the Mexican Government had deposited in New York money enough to pay the first interest on the bonded indebtedness due Jan. 2 under the bankers' agreement. Soon afterward the Oliver Trading Company obtained a writ of attachment on Oct. 18 to recover \$1,164,348 from the Mexican Government on claims arising from the operation of privately owned cars and locomotives on the Mexican National Railway lines during Carranza's term. The cars were returned, but the locomotives were seized, pending settlement of disputed claims against the trading company. The writ of attachment was served on the consulate and on J. P. Morgan & Co. and other financial institutions. Mexican newspapers were highly indignant at the serving of the writ, especially as the New York courts had recently decided that the Mexican Government, not being recognized by the United States, could not sue to satisfy claims against American citizens. They held it unjust to allow Mexico to be sued and not allow her the privilege of suing.

Secretary Hughes appears to have appreciated this, for the State Department notified Governor Miller of New York that the attachment of foreign Government property was illegal under international law. Justice Arthur S. Tompkins of the Supreme Court on Oct. 30 signed the papers vacating the writ of attachment.

Meanwhile Mexico had retaliated by closing the offices of her Consulate General in New York on Oct. 27 in protest against the alleged violation of the sovereignty of Mexico. The closing of the consular offices threw 200 persons out of employment and caused much confusion among business houses that have been accustomed to get the consulate to visé papers necessary for the shipment of goods to Mexico.

Mexico on Oct. 31 followed up the closing of the consulate by an order suspending commercial relations between the Mexican Government and "all persons or groups of persons residing in New York State."

The Mexican Government was pleased at the prompt action taken by Secretary Hughes, and the consular offices were reopened on Nov. 1. The Mexican Government, however, took the position that none of its property in the United States should be regarded as subject to court attachment, and made new representations to Washington. Attorneys for both sides appeared in Nyack on Nov. 4 to argue the case, but Justice Tompkins adjourned the hearing until Nov. 11.

COLOMBIA

A first payment of \$5,000,000 is being made to Colombia by the United States Treasury in

accordance with the recent treaty signed between the two countries for the settlement of all claims of Colombia to the territory where the inter-oceanic canal was built. The total of \$25,000,000 will be paid in five yearly instalments. The whole of the indemnity has been offered by the Government as part guaranty for a loan of 80,000,000 pesos about to be signed with the banking house of Blair & Co. of New York, the projected railways to be built with that money to be also given in mortgage. The creditors will have a representative in the commission to be appointed for the investment of the money. Another minor loan of about \$6,000,000 is being negotiated with the same bankers.

The Municipality of Medellin (State of Antioquia) has given its approval to the loan for \$20,000,000, negotiated through a New York firm for the purpose of furnishing the means for sanitation work and other public improvements in this Colombian city.

The Government has sent a circular to the port authorities on the Caribbean coast, insisting that the law must be rigidly enforced in respect to the immigration of Orientals and their Malay and Kanaka varieties. Some parties of Japanese, Chinese and Philippine Tagalogs, who have come to these shores, have caused this move for the enforcement of the law restricting the entrance of Asiatic aliens.

A counterfeit American \$20 gold piece has been discovered in Barranquilla, and the authorities, in collaboration with the United States Consul in that port, are looking for the haunts of the counterfeiters.

CENTRAL AMERICA

Secretary Hughes on Oct. 23 invited the five Governments of Central America (Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua and Salvador) to a conference for the limitation of armaments to meet in Washington on Dec. 4. All accepted the invitation. First on the proposed agenda is the signing of an agreement to make binding the treaty of Dec. 20, 1907, to promote friendly relations and co-operation between the five Central American nations. The union of these States, attempted last year, failed for lack of co-operation. Honduras, Salvador and Guatemala renewed their pledge aboard the United States cruiser Tacoma in August. Arbitration will also be considered at the proposed conference.

The discussion on the limitation of armaments relates to land forces and it is hoped in Washington, according to the statement issued as the agenda for the conference, that "the Central American States may set an example to the world, and above all to the powers of this hemisphere," by limiting armies. The conference will also consider economic, political and social questions.

ECUADOR

Plans for the erection of a monument to the memory of the late President, General Eloy Alfaro, have been held up by the opposition of

a group of representative citizens, who feel that the time for the full and lasting appreciation of the life and work of that statesman has not yet come. President Alfaro was killed and quartered by a mob in the streets of Guayaquil in 1909.

Another question vastly interesting public opinion is the one related to the loan for \$23,000,000 offered by the Standard Oil, which the Congress of Ecuador refused to authorize during the term now closed. Some of the newspapers comment with bitterness on the failure of the Congress to pass the bill, but others denounce the negotiation as being too heavy an obligation on Ecuador. Under the terms proposed, the loan was to be issued at 85 (which would mean a commission of 15 per cent.) and at 8 per cent. interest, plus 1 per cent. sinking fund. With the sucre at three to the dollar, this would mean an annual obligation of about 3,000,000 sucres.

CHILE

The Chilean Senate on Oct. 16 gave its approval, with reservations, to the protocol signed at Washington by delegates from Chile and Peru for the handing over of the Tacna-Arica differences to the President of the United States. One of the reservations contains a motion for the Government of Chile to start further negotiations, with the purpose of clarifying certain provisions of the July agreement. Another envisages the insertion of a clause providing for a previous agreement on the procedure to be followed in case the findings of the arbitrator should be that Clause 3 of the Ancon Treaty was void, and proposes that the arbiter should have the final decision as to the form and manner of the plebiscite. Still another reservation asks that in the event that Peru should gain possession of Tacna and Arica, all administrative acts under previous Chilean Governments and under the treaty with Bolivia regarding some of the territory should be sanctioned by Peru.

In the meantime, the two months given for the Congresses of both countries to ratify the Washington negotiations have expired, and ratification by the Peruvian Parliament has placed Chile in the position of asking for a special reprieve, should the agreement be passed in the near future. Under the Chilean Constitution a two-thirds majority by the Lower House is required for approving the protocol as originally drawn over the veto of the Senate. Hope is maintained in Government circles that while this majority is being mustered in the House, the Senate will be unable to line up the two-thirds it should have in order to pass its reservations over the other branch of Congress.

A new loan for \$18,000,000 has been contracted in New York by the Chilean Government through the National City Company, a subsidiary of the National City Bank, its main purposes being the balancing of the national budget and the paying off of some other obligations.

The political duel between the Senate majority and the President has taken a new and interesting aspect with the appointment, by the latter,

of the two delegates to the Washington conference for the main posts in the Cabinet, the purpose being plainly to make them bear to the last the responsibilities of the negotiations.

The industries of the country and domestic commerce still show the activity displayed by them during the last few months. Nitrate exports are again reduced, but during the month of September they exceeded by 81,000 tons the quantity exported for the same period last year.

ARGENTINA

The Senate Committee on Foreign Relations has advised the Government against approving the loan for \$50,000,000 negotiated during the last months of the last Administration. The terms of the proposed loan are considered disadvantageous to the country, and the explanations of the Secretary of the Treasury was called upon to give to the committee have been coldly received. Moreover, the expiration of the term given for congressional approval of the loan has automatically made void the preceding negotiations.

The firm of Swayne & Hoyt of San Francisco has entered into an agreement with the Shipping Board for the operating of a steamship line between the west coast of the United States and Buenos Aires. Three passenger ships of more than 10,000 tons each, the President Hayes, the President Harrison and the Susquehanna, will be added to the three freight steamers the company has already in operation. Starting from Seattle, the new line will stop in the ports of Oregon and California, the Panama Canal, Porto Rico, and will thence follow down the east coast of South America to Rio de Janeiro, Montevideo and Buenos Aires.

Commercial conditions in Argentina are again relaxing temporarily after the short boom experienced during the last few months. Shipping and agriculture are faring better than the other activities, but foreign business has diminished, with the exception of the importation of some American products, such as iron products, silks and automobiles, all of which have come in a greater quantity than last year. Private building enterprises and railroad traffic are doing a satisfactory volume of business.

Count Romanones, the foremost Liberal politician of Spain and former Premier, has announced his departure for Buenos Aires and other cities of the new world, including New York and the principal American centres. The high standing of Count Romanones, and his closeness to the Court, indicate that his trip is the forerunner of one already promised by the King of Spain to Argentina. It is said that King Alfonso will be ready to start at the beginning of the Summer of 1923 for the Southern Hemisphere.

BRAZIL

The Brazilian Ambassador in Washington, Senhor Alencar, and Secretary Hughes, acting for their respective Governments, are parties to a contract by the terms of which a naval commis-

sion of some sixteen American officers and nineteen non-commissioned officers will go to Brazil to serve in the reorganization and upbuilding of the Brazilian Navy for the period of four years. A number of experts and instructors will be added. At the head of the mission is the head of the Brooklyn Navy Yard, Commander Vogelgesang, who will have the rank of Vice Admiral of the Brazilian Navy. The members of the mission are experts in different branches of the Naval Department of the United States, such as ship-building, torpedo and submarine work, sanitation and so forth. Each of them will be attached to the respective department of the Brazilian Navy as a special adviser. Admiral Vogelgesang will be the adviser of the navy staff. The Government decree provides also for the construction of dry docks near Rio de Janeiro, and for five naval stations along the extensive sea line of the country. For this purpose an initial appropriation of 30,000 contos has been made.

Some speculation has been aroused in diplomatic circles as to the extent of the Brazilian arms plans, considering that Brazil's expenses for

military purposes are today 45 per cent. lower than in 1913. On the other hand, attention is called to the fact that the Brazilian delegation opposed the motion to discuss armament limitation at the last meeting of the League of Nations. Government officials have answered these comments by pointing out that since 1914, that is to say, during the whole of the war period and over, Brazil has not had the opportunity of replacing that part of its navy material which is obsolete. It is expected that the coming meeting of the Pan-American Congress in Santiago de Chile, next March, will put Brazilian intentions to the test. The proposal for limitation of armaments was put into the Congress program at the suggestion of President Alessandri of Chile.

The consumption of Brazilian rubber in the United States is falling off considerably. During the present year Europe has for the first time surpassed the consumption of that product by the American market, the figures being 6,738 tons for European ports and 5,574 for the United States, against 10,948 imported by this last country in 1921 and an even larger quantity in former years.

SLAVIC COUNTRIES RIVAL ITALY

THE ancient buildings and monuments, the art collections and other heritages of the past that have escaped the ravages of immemorial warfare in Slavic Central Europe, according to Dr. Clarence A. Manning, head of the department of Slavonic Languages at Columbia University, after an extended tour through these regions, are little less than amazing. This is especially true in the case of Poland and Czechoslovakia. In Cracow the old churches rival any in Italy in architectural beauty and decoration. Vilna, Warsaw and Lemberg have palaces, monuments and cathedrals as beautiful and impressive as any in the land to which Heaven gave

the "done infelice di bellezza." Prague, above all, is now the centre of Slavonic culture. Dr. Manning does not say, but it is true, that the Czechoslovak capital is filled to overflowing with exiled Russians, living in hope of an ultimate return to "mighty Russia" after the Bolshevist experiment has failed. Slavs of all nations are studying in the university. A special Faculty has been established for the study of Russian law. There is even an affiliated Ukrainian university, an independent institution which is allowed to utilize the buildings of the Prague University, but which confers no degrees.

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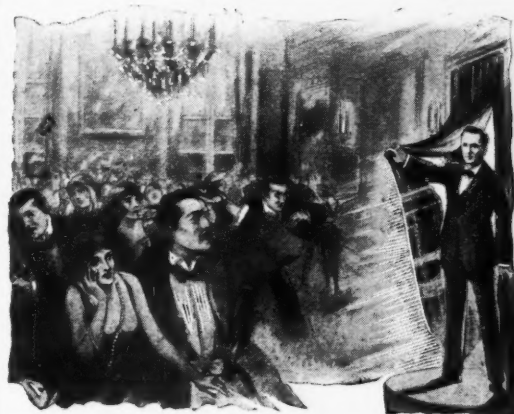
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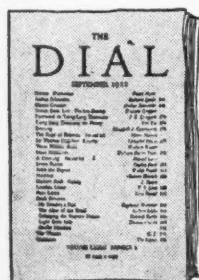
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